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Selections.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS.

We continue this week the extracts from Southern papers touching the Disunion question,—choosing those only which advocate that measure:

From the (Hamburg S. C.) Journal.

THE SOUTHERN ADDRESS.

This paper is presented to our readers this week, and their deliberate attention to it is invoked. We have read it with the deepest interest. And while weighing its summary of startling facts, and inferring the consequences which must inevitably follow the prosecution of abolition schemes, we looked with curiosity for the "raw head and bloody bones" of Disunion, which for some time, haunted the imaginations of Northern letter writters. We searched for that proud defiance to the North and for that rallying cry to the South for immediate dissolution of the Confederacy, and for other "chimeras dire" which it was said to contain. We found the allegation an error, prompted by fear, or uttered through malevolence. There is not a feature in it objectionable to the North, though harsh truths, the proofs of want of patriotism and of common justice may be unpalatable; nor can a true Southerner evade the conviction, that in its sentiments rest the vindication of the Constitution, and the security of his Section. Its tone is calm, dignified and concilliatory, but firm, Its exposition of our Constitutional rights, unanswerable. Its statement of the insults and injuries inflicted on the South by their compatriots and confreres of the North, since 1819, is accurate and just, though it does not compromise the hundredth of them. Even the Northern press is constrained to acknowledge its truth: and the *New York Herald* urges an observance of its recommendations for the safety of the Union. Its history is brief. Northern States and combinations of individuals, had for years committed wanton aggressions on our interests and rights. These were not unnoticed, but the South was not aggrieved by any act of the general Government to degrade her, or to deprive her of Constitutional privileges. The passage of the Oregon territorial bill, with the superfluous clause, was offensive, but not injurious. But the period for Governmental action appeared to be at hand. The lower House of Congress, with a majority of Free Soil men adopted Gott's grossly insulting resolutions. It entertained a proposition to abolish the Slave Trade and Slavery in the District of Columbia. It rejected a just claim for a slave—virtually freed by a military commander in Florida, (General Jessup) who had no other idea than that Government would pay for him, and who by the act, perhaps saved the Treasury twenty times the amount—on the absurd assumption that slaves are not property. It showed a disposition to pass the Wilmot Proviso, again, besides other acts manifesting a settled hostility to the South. Southern members could not pass them all by with silent indifference. It was contrary to their feelings as men—contrary to their duty as vigilant and faithful representatives. To have passed them by unnoticed, would have invited further insults, and induced the belief that we would submit without a murmur to be driven to any extremity. Nay, this had already become the conviction of a large party at the North who strong in numbers, were disposed to become rampant in bitter malignity over a proud but prostrate foe, and denounced us as too tame to resist, and too dependent upon the North to be "kicked out of the Union!" Our representatives could no longer bear these insults and imputations. Their indignation was deep and universal. Even Mr. Stephens of Georgia, was infected! They met in hot haste to consider the proper steps of defence; and their unanimity and earnest determination to adopt decisive measures; alarmed the aggressors, who saw, to their surprise, that a storm had gathered, and like all blustering bullies shrank from encountering its rage. They reconsidered and disposed of Gott's resolutions. They reconsidered and passed the Pacheco claim. Here was good accomplished by united resolution. and *it proves what can be done* in the last resort. But they had not done all. The Proviso was yet held *in terrorem*, and the Committee on the District of Columbia yet considered about the abolition of Slavery within its limits. There was sufficient yielding to prevent extreme action on the part of the South, but for the Southern meeting to have dissolved for these petty withdrawals without any result to their solemn deliberations, would have been farcical. It need not have summoned the State Legislatures—a final resort—nor have threatened, pompously, what would be done under certain contingences, which would have been schoolboyish. But it could modify its course by the actual condition of things—it could make a statement of the evils we suffered, and leave their remedy to the harmonizing influence of a returning sense of justice and brotherly kindness on the one part, and the united and resolute front of armed conciliation, on the other. It has done this, in a moderate and manly manner. It remonstrates with the North for its stabs of the Constitution—for its relentless crusades against our Institution of Slavery (once their own) with which it is no more concerned than with individual property in other sections—and warns it of the disastrous tendency of farther hostility—that it is unconstitutional—unfriendly—unchristian; and that the accomplishment of its aims will inevitably destroy the Government. While on the other hand, it points out our danger, and advises UNION AT HOME as our only safeguard against oppression, and the only guarantee of security to the confederacy.—The Address is masterly and well timed. Just up to the crisis and not beyond it. The ounce of preventive that is worth a pound of cure. The South should heed its sage admonitions. If they have any regard for themselves and their posterity—any regard for their honour as men and their sacred rights as freemen—any regard for the blessings of prosperity and peace—if they wish to avert a disruption of the fraternal and Governmental ties which attach us to the North—to avert the horrors of civil war—the bloody extermination of an inferior race of beings and avert what may be the desolution of our fields and the desecration of our firesides and altars they will *silent all dissentions at home*, stand like one man for justice—freedom and self-preservation!—Without union, there is no safety. *With united councils and united arms, their is no danger.*

Few States have been lost, who were not lost to themselves. And six millions of brave people, arrayed around their own hearthstones in defence of right and justice, animated by a common purpose, and resolved upon a single end, *can never be conquered!* They can resist "a world in arms!"—But God forbid that it should become our lot to test the truth of the remark, and we are sanguine, that it will not come to that emergency. We believe that the South however quiet their appearance—which in a brave man is most significant—are aroused and firm. That in their hearts they have determined not to suffer dictation—not to submit to the tyranny of unchartered members—not to shrink an inch before even the hostile tread of armed myrmidons—but to sustain their Institution at ever hazard of fortune, liberty, and life. And in this belief we repose the glory of our glorious Section—the stronger knitting together of the bonds of union by honourable and just compromise, and the proud preëminence in the civilized world of free, united and enlighted America!

We regret to notice the influence of party spirit among our leaders at Washington. Why is it so? Are not our honours and our interests the same? And can intelligent men recklessly sacrifice the paramount interests of a nation, to the narrow passions which control a partisan on the Tariff or the Bank? Is there a solitary shade of resemblance or comparison? It is said they are Taylor men, and placing unlimited confidence in him, they diverge from their fellow Southerners who opposed him! This is a paltry reason. We were as decided for Taylor as any man who drew a pen in his cause, and fought more heartily and more desperately than any press that advocated his election, and we have the same faith in his patriotism, integrity and firmness, and know perhaps more of his real views and virtues too, than those hot-house friends, *yet we approve every syllable of the Southern Address! Taylor, too, will approve it.* Why should his friends, with a preposterous delicacy, shrink from signing it? It is said, too, Mr. Berrien's address was directed to the North also, and this solely to the South! But does not its general publication reach both regions, and will not the sentiments be equally considered, whether the caption is North or South? This is puerile when the addresses are substantially the same. On this question, a patriotic impulse should swell every heart, and nerve every arm. Whigs and Democrats should remember only, that they are Southern men, by birth or adoption, and asked for weal or woe with their own section. They cannot make Slavery a party question here. It is suicidal to the party that attempts it. And we warn the Whig party of the gulf before them if they deviate from the plain path of duty. Their leaders in such event, will sink into contempt—their rank and file will melt into the Southern party like snow in mid-summer—their organization lost irretrievably—their existence marked by the wrecks of obstinate, misguided ambition.—And when the spark lit up by outraged right is kindled to a flame, should it be so, their few presses which may rashly and indecently venture by the favour of a kind-hearted and hospitable people, (we do not say any have quite yet done so) to promulgate incendiary doctrines, will be destroyed by an indignant populace, and their conductors will be gibbeted like felons! Taitors, of whom we hope to have few or none, will be executed without the benefit of clergy, and the suspected will be banished from the country!

We trust there will be meetings among the people to approve the principles of the address. Let there be one at Hamburg and one at the Court House at least. A simple well-done to our public servants is all the encouragement they desire, and it will guarantee continued vigilance and confident action for the benefit of their constituents.

From the Columbus (Ga.) Times.

WHAT WILL THE SOUTH DO!

Periodically for the last thirty years, there has arisen in the South great excitement upon the subject of the aggressions of the North upon our rights, and their manifest injustice to us. It has always ended in "concession and compromise" which means a yielding of right on our part. No wonder then that the people of the North look with contempt upon all our demonstrations and remonstrances, and that they term them the "gasconading of the chivalrous South." And well do we deserve their contempt and their taunts. What have we ever done to satisfy them that we have any rights that we will defend? Why we have conceded and compromised.

It is true that we have talked so much about Slavery, and they have known that it is so important and vital question with us, that they have for a while thought that perhaps we might defend ourselves upon that; they have, therefore, for years approached it with some caution, but they have now come fully and fairly to the conclusion, that we are a just personification of the Ass in the Lion's skin—and well they may. All along, we have been telling them that this question must not be touched in Congress—that the South would not submit for one moment to that, yet they have not only touched and handled it, but in the very wantoness of insult, they have actually proposed that the slaves shall vote upon the question of the continuance of Slavery in the District of Columbia; and, strange to tell, that proposition received the sanction of seventy-eight votes. Can insult assume a grosser form? Can contempt be more strongly expressed?

And what will the South do? There are some among us who say wait? Who talk about settling upon compromises!!! What can we concede that we have not conceded? If we concede any more what shall we have left? What further evidence do we want of what the North is willing to do?—Twelve months ago she would have been startled at the very idea of the temerity of the proceedings of this Congress. Twelve months hence, if we tamely submit to this, she will be ashamed of her folly in exercising so much forbearance—she will despise herself for having ever felt that there might be something to fear from the resentment of the South.

Then, what will the South do? We cannot answer the question; but we can tell what we think she ought to do. She ought to say to the North in the plainest and most unequivocal terms: "We care not whether a slave ever sets foot on the new territories or not, but it is the right of our people to carry them there if they choose to do so, and they shall not be prohibited from it. You must then not only cease to agitate the subject of Slavery in any shape, but you must aid us in passing a law of Congress which shall enable us speedily to enforce the delivery of any and all slaves who shall escape into the free States, and to punish those who shall aid and abet them in escaping, or who shall harbour or conceal them. If you refuse to do these things, we shall in the language of Mr. Stephens, in his speech here, "hold you as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends."

This would be requiring no more than it is our right to require, and their duty to yield. And in our opinion, the time has arrived when nothing less than this will bring the people of the North to their senses; and when to require or to accept of less than this, is worse than a quiet submission to all their exactions.

Does anybody think that less will be of any service to us? If so, we would be glad to see it pointed out. Admit that practically it is a matter of no importance whether Slavery be admitted or excluded as to the new territories, and that we should be willing to pocket the insult of being told by the North, and without any necessity for it, that we shall not exercise our rights there; is it of no importance that they shall be prevented from abolishing Slavery in the District of Columbia? Is it of no importance that those States which join the non-slaveholding States shall have secured to them the right of recovering speedily and cheaply those slaves who escape into the Free States? Is it of no importance that they should have the power to punish those who entice them off, or aid them in escaping, or who conceal and protect them after they have escaped.

It is true, that we of Georgia have no immediate interest in the question, because other slaveholding States stand between us and the Free States, and they are a protection to us; but if the present state of things is permitted to continue a little longer, that protection will be taken from us. Another year, with the present growing spirit of fanaticism unchecked, and slaves will be worth nothing in Maryland—she will soon get rid of them and be added to the number of our enemies—one by one by this process, our friends will drop off from us, until we lose Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri; the cotton-growing States will own all the slaves, and, surrounded on every side by enemies, fanaticism may then well taunt our weakness; and it will then impose upon us whatever terms it will.

Can any sane man look dispassionately upon the present and the past, and come to any conclusion as to the future? Yet there are men amongst us who say, "let us wait, and appeal to the magnanimity and justice and patriotism of our Northern brethren." Have we not been appealing to them for years?—And when have our appeals been met by anything but scorn and derision? The only men amongst them who ever manifested for us any magnanimity, or any justice, or any patriotism, have been stricken down and overwhelmed by the spirit of fanaticism, and those who have fallen tell us that it is our fault, and those who have triumphed are daily proclaiming that it was by our approbation. Why should we wait? Have the assaults upon our rights and our interests become less frequent or less violent, and threatening by our forbearance for the past? Are they likely to become less frequent, or is our power of resistance likely to increase by delay and forbearance for the future? Let the history of the past write the prediction for the future. We repeat then, can any man in his senses believe that less than we have designated will be of any service to us? For ourselves, we do not believe that even that would be of any permanent value to us. We cannot trust the faith of those who have disregarded the compromises made by their fathers in the adoption of the Constitution, and have in the day of their power, violated all they have made themselves—and it is our deliberate opinion that in less than twelve months from this day that they will put it beyond all question that we must unconditionally submit, or avoid it only by secession.

From the—Cassville, Georgia,—Pioneer.

CONGRESS—ITS ACTION.

We have marked the proceedings of Congress for some time, with a good deal of earnestness. What conclusion we have come to, is briefly laid down in the following remarks:

It was to be hoped, that the only question which disturbs the tranquility of the North and South would, through the influence of the President elect, be settled honourably and uprightly to all sections and classes. But from what we can learn, the question yet remains open, and assuming an aspect, highly derogatory to our national greatness and standing. This is much to be deplored, and more especially, as the bone of contention is held up by brothers, men inhabiting the same free and happy Government, and who should look with pride at the future, and which future can be looked to, in but one way, and that is, an equitable adjustment of the Slavery question.

There is no use speaking of what the North terms "human rights," "freedom of all classes" and such like stuff. Can they even suppose for a moment, that the South will yield her rights at the foot-stool of the North, to be humbled, fanatic-ridden and made a common foot-ball of? No such unearthly notions, we are confident, ever enter the head of a man of sense, one who looks upon himself as being competent of Representing a State or District in Congress, and no man, who possesses even good common sense would ask it. They, (the North), know as well as we do, what are our rights, both sectionally and constitutionally, and they cannot withhold them from us, unless they desire that unfortunate state of things which no man South anticipates or seeks, and that is, a dissolution of this glorious fabric of equal rights and freedom.

The signs of the times are pregnant with evil things, and so dark in their nature, that none can fail to see them. We are even told by those who formerly stood by the South, that until we put down the "*traitors* in our midst," (meaning a party of Southern politicians) that they, the former supporters of Southern Institutions, would be compelled to abandon us—and why? Because, say they, when we stand by the South—when we support her interest, and every thing is turned against us at home—in our defeat by Abolitionists, Southern *Whigs* rejoice over it. Such things say Northern Democrats, are heart rending, and show a Southern feeling commensurate with that of Northern Abolitionists. Such are the facts and we are sorry to announce it, but truth is mighty, and will prevail. We have often warned our readers to beware how they voted. Whether they have heeded our warnings is not for us, but for them to determine. We have told them over and often who were the friends of the South in the North—we have laid the facts before them, and urged upon them the propriety of supporting them, and if they failed to do so, we have cleared our skirts, knowing that we have done our duty, without fear or favour.

We have published lately, several articles on this question, and from them, the reader may judge who it is that stands fearlessly in defence of the rights of the South. If the Democracy are not the true friends of the country, then was it well that they should have been defeated in the late campaign if they were, it is only to be regretted that they were not sustained.

Four years will develope enough to show whether the Democratic Party is true to the National standard or not, and if the people determine in their favour, they will again be reëinstated, and the reigns of Government placed in their hands. We are well wishers of the incoming Administration. We hope General Taylor may have the honour of leaving the Presidential chair, with that renown which it is the happy privilege of Mr. Polk to do. This General Taylor can do, by standing upon the Constitution alone, and sustaining the Missouri Compromise, upon which line, we believe, the entire South are content to abide, and if not observed, to defend. If our rights are invaded, we say defend them; shrink not from justice, but maintain and defend that you know to be just, at any and all hazzards.

From the—Edgefield S. C.—Advertiser.

Who is to Lead in the Crisis?—One thing necessary, we believe, for prompt action at the South, is the lead of some influential State; some State that will take the first step, and that can inspire the other States with the confidence of success. Do not her position—her character—her great moral and physical strength point out *Virginia* as the State? We are rejoiced to see the "Old Flag Ship of the South," already moving on so majestically in the cause of Southern rights! Resolutions, touching our Federal Relations on the subject of Slavery, have already passed her Legislature, that forcibly recall the early times of the "Old Dominion"—the days of Jefferson and Madison! The State has resolved on resistance; prompt, determined resistance. North Carolina has followed her example.

God grant they may instantly set about giving practical efficacy to views, they have so well expressed on paper. The South generally, we believe, will be proud to follow in so noble a cause!

From the Columbia Telegraph.

THE UNION IN DANGER.

When we made this declaration months ago, previous to the Presidential election, and urged the necessity of *Union at the South irrespective of party*, to avert this danger, our warnings were derided as the dreams of a visionary alarmist. We were even charged with sinister political purposes for so declaring, but the lapse of a few months has proved the truth of our position. The danger that only loomed in the distance then, is now *upon us*. It is proclaimed in Congress with solemn emphasis—it is announced through the press—it is whispered in private by each man to his neighbour and in every heart lurks the strong conviction that the issue of this great struggle now pending may be a *dissolution of the Union*. It becomes us then to act as men in this crisis, and calmly and dispassionately to consider the condition of our country; not to cower from its contemplation like children in the dark, assailed by vague fears and a nameless dread; it is time in short for all of us *to calculate the value of the Union*, not in the spirit of mercenary speculators or scheming politicians, but as honest, fearless and honourable men, who ask for nothing but what is right, and will submit to nothing that is wrong. The Union of these States has long been inexpressibly dear to the American people, and towards it they all must look with the reverential affection of children for an affectionate and fostering mother. The bonds which bind together our people in one common tie of national pride and national interest, have been strengthened in the different sections by consanguinity, domestic ties, social intimacies, and a community of rights and privileges.

Some of these ties cannot be sundered, they are interwoven with the fibres of our hearts—but others dependent upon legislations *can* and *have* been rudely severed, and the independence and equality of the citizens of one section of this confederacy been trampled under foot by those of the other, until *driven to the wall*, the assailed South must stand at bay at last, in assertion of the first law of nature, *Self-defence*.

The crisis, sneered at so long by our Northern brethren who deem us impotent and spiritless, has come at last; provoked not by us or ours, but by *themselves*, and they well may shrink now from the presence of the phantom they themselves have summoned to sunder ties, which else had proven stronger than links of steel to bind us all together.

Upon the heads then of those perverse and wicked agitators, who have disregarded alike the obligations of duty and fraternity, and the binding pledges of the written charter of our common compact, must rest the responsibility of all overt acts that its violation may cause to ensue.

In repeated instances the Constitution has been already deliberately violated—and for the sake of harmony, of peace, of union, the South so far has submitted, indignantly remonstrating against those infractions at the time of their occurrence; but now when the naked alternative of submitting to a state of colonial vassalage or seceding from the Union is tauntingly forced upon her, *can she hesitate one moment in her choice?* Nay, some of our assailants go even further—they deny us even *the right to secede*, and command *unconditional submission* by threats of *coercion*—and that this is so, we have only to refer our readers to the *New-York Herald* of last week, which distinctincly affirms the proposition to be Treason, and states the readiness and ability of the North to coerce the South into submission by physical force, contrasting their strength with our supposed feebleness.

When language such as this is used by so strong an organ of public opinion, hitherto friendly to the South, it shows the sentiment which our previous assent to unconstitutional legislation has inspired in the breasts of our Northern brethren. They believe (to use the emphatic language of a New York politician), "*that the South cannot be kicked out of the Union*"! but may with impunity be kicked while in it—and that sooner than jeopardize its continuance we will submit to ANYTHING.

Now if the South desires to remain an equal in this confederacy she must undeceive her allies on this point, for if they carry out this conviction much farther into action, the period for conciliation or compromise will have passed, heats and prejudices and passions will have been kindled up into a blaze on both sides, and one of these two results inevitably ensue—both of which are painful to contemplate—Secession or Civil War! the one possibly to tread upon the heels of the other.

We rejoice at last to find that the South is awake, and her sons ready and united to protect common rights and common honour—for the proceedings of the Legislatures of all the Southern States that have spoken, offer at once a rebuke and warning to those trading politicians, who at the Southern meeting at Washington *misrepresented* the feelings and wishes of their constituents, to forward their own selfish political schemes or to wreak their own partisan bitterness.

The South *is* united, and the Union *is* in danger: we are not the assailants, but the assailed, and pitching our tent on the rock of the constitution must calmly await the attack, determined to yield not one foot more, and to resist further encroachment "at all and every hazard."

Virginia leads the van—a noble standard-bearer; rallying around her already stand North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, and all her other sisters, whose present and future destinies are bound up with hers, and who must share with her a common triumph or a common doom, or bear the brand of degradation stamped forever upon their brows.

When our fathers framed the Constitution they did so, in their own emphatic words, "in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, *ensure domestic tranquility*, provide for the common defence. Promote the *general welfare*, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity"—and for these reasons and on these conditions alone did they ordain and establish the Constitution for the United States of America. If in each and every particular our Northern brethren are wilfully, bent upon perverting and disregarding the terms of that compact, and converting it into a scourge for our backs, can they suppose us to be such dolts and dastards as to cling to the *shadow*, when the *substance* has been taken away?

No! already have they begun to quail before the bold front presented at the eleventh hour by the Southern people—the tone of the Representatives in Congress shows it during the past week, and if we are only true to ourselves, and remain united, resolute and ready, the South will maintain her own rights and honour, and the Union be preserved—let us relax our vigilence, present a divided front, or show signs of weakness, and we seal our own dishonour, and the doom of this great and glorious Republic. The darkest hour is always that which precedes the dawn—God grant that it may be so now, for the political night is dark indeed, and the strongest vision cannot penetrate far into the future.

From the (New Orleans) Daily Crescent.

THE SOUTHERN ADDRESS.

We publish this morning the address of the "Southern Members of Congress to their Constituents," drawn up by Mr. Calhoun and adopted by a majority of the delegates. Our readers are aware that we have from the beginning doubted the wisdom of holding the Convention, and expressed our fears that its labours would be productive of no real benefit, but might lead to positive evil. This apprehension has been justified by the result. The Convention has shown the want of unity in feeling—of harmony in action among the leading men of the South, upon a question which, if it be of any importance at all, is of the deepest. It cannot be hoped that the opinions or the interests of the South should be respected by those who honestly believe that Slavery is an evil and ought by any means to be abolished, nor yet by those who make use of this abolition agitation to subserve purposes of personal ambition or party ascendancy, if in the very crisis of our fate, the hour of imminent danger and severest trial, there is no accord among ourselves. This crisis, it is asserted, is now come. Yet the Southern representatives—men who have been selected from among the whole people as best qualified to defend, and most worthy to be entrusted with the defence of their rights and interests—have made the discovery that they cannot even unite upon so simple a matter as an address upon the questions at issue. When the telegraphic reports reached us that Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Berrien had each made a report; that the one of Mr. Calhoun had been adopted, and that those who favoured the report of Mr. Berrien would not sign the other, we had supposed that there was some marked difference between the two, and that the one adopted contained matter of dangerous, if not of treasonable import, which would justify a refusal to sanction it on the part of patriotic Southern men. We confess, however, that we can see no great difference in the facts or the reasonings of the two; and nothing so very alarming in the one finally sanctioned by a majority of the Convention. The paper itself is a very unpretending statement of facts, showing the manner in which the plain provisions of the Constitution have been directly and indirectly set at nought by the action or refusal to act of the Northern States; the injustice done to the citizens of the South by the attempt to extend the provisions of the ordinance of 1787, over all new territory; the assault upon the institution of Slavery in the States, concealed or avowed, by the movements now being made in relation to its existence in the District of Columbia; and the danger to the rights, property, and even lives of our citizens, from the forced emancipation which will inevitably follow the continuance of this system of inimical measures. There is nothing in the address which is not true—and the truth is expressed in a manner neither harsh nor offensive. After the detail of grievances, it recommends nothing but a spirit of unity among the Southern people—a unity not found among the representatives themselves—with the hope that by presenting an undivided front, the North may be induced to pause in its career, and desist from its violence and aggression. In this there may be something ludicrous, coming from a divided representation, but there is nothing, most assuredly, dangerous. The recommendation is a very simple and an innocent one—one which could produce no evil if carried out, but one which we imagine will make little more impression upon the constituency than it did upon their representatives.

There has been, and there is, no union of sentiment among the politicians of the South. They have played with this question of Slavery for party purposes, until they have endangered the whole system. The people are united in feeling, but they are separated by party names, and kept asunder by party leaders, and they will, we fear, never be brought into united and harmonious action until such action shall have become useless. We say these things with regret, but they are truths which may as well be told—truths demonstrated by all past history, and by nothing more clearly than by the action of this Southern Convention itself, and by the manner in which its proceedings are viewed by this or that party, by the friends of this or that prominent leader. Lovers of the Constitution and the Union, our earnest prayer is that both may be perpetual—that our people may observe the one and preserve the other through all coming time. But the Union was created by the Constitution, depends upon it for its vitality, and must cease to be when the bond that connects it has been broken. The way to save the Union is to guard the Constitution from infraction, to preserve every article and clause of it inviolable. A united, firm and peaceful stand taken by *the people* of the Southern States, would secure this inviolability.—The great body of the Northern people, friends of the Constitution and Union, would side with us in such a course—the fanatics, contemptible in numbers and weak by cause of their own rashness, would assail us in vain—and politicians who make a trade of agitation, would cease from an unprofitable employment. But divided as we are and have been, the work of aggression will go on till our grievances are too enormous for our endurance, and our numbers have become too few for peaceful, and our power too small for forcible, resistance.

From the Mobile Herald.

THE SOUTHERN ADDRESS.

On Sunday we received copies of the Address (Mr. Calhoun's) of the Southern Convention. We regret that our limited space prevents us from spreading it before our readers. It is well-written—is vigorous, unembellished, and narrates simple facts which are notorious as the air we breathe. It bears upon every line of it, evidence that its author thinks justice can be obtained only by a most humble suit to the law-making power. Submission runs through it—modifies its spirit, and makes of it just such a prayer as a colony might prefer to a sovereign ruler. Ten years ago the meanest white man in the South would have spurned so abject a petition for justice. Yet, notwithstanding this, of the whole one hundred and twenty members of Congress from the South, only forty-eight have had the audacity to put their names to it.

Whether this results from cowardice—a fear of losing the bread which party provides for its votaries—or mere jealousy of the source whence the address issued, cannot now be ascertained; but certainly no man can see in the address itself anything which the warmest lover of the Union might not approve or sign. With certain fanatics in the South the name of South Carolina has become a symbol of evil. If Christ himself had made his advent in this State, these fanatics would have needed no other motive for crucifying him, and yet not one of them can point to one of the past forebodings of Mr. Calhoun which is not to-day a fixed truth in the history of the nation. If a test were needed of his greatness, we would triumphantly point to this fact.—Nay, we would go farther, and assert, that had his counsel been taken years ago, to-day the South would have been too independent to have required its patriotic men to bend so low for justice as this address shows they are obliged to do. Mr. Calhoun stood to defend the outworks of the South, to keep the outer wall secured, and thus prevent access to the main camp. As he himself once declared, the power of resistance lay on the surface—that if you break the shell, there is no such power within. The shell has been broken, and most of the men now at Washington have not the courage to speak even in the bated breath of the bondman. These facts show that the people of the South can only be relied on—that mainly the politicians are beneath contempt.

Nashville—Tenn.—Paper.

THE RIGHT SPIRIT.

A few days since we copied the resolutions that were adopted by an overwhelming majority in the Legislature of North Carolina, upon the subject of the Wilmot Proviso, and the interference by Congress with Slavery in the District of Columbia. We now have the pleasure of copying from the *Charleston Mercury*, the resolutions adopted almost unanimously by the Legislatures of Virginia and Florida upon the same subjects. These States have taken the proper course, and we hope to see every Southern State plant it itself upon the same ground, and never yield one iota of their rights in this fearful controversy. It is time for united action upon this subject, and we are happy to see thus far that, with the masses of the people there is no division. Let the South as one man unite in resisting the aggressive spirit of the North and the fearful consequences that now threaten the integrity of the Union may and will be avoided. The North pretend to believe that upon the subject of Slavery the South is itself divided. Let them learn, as we trust they will, that upon this point they are grossly deceived, and they will shrink from the fearful responsibility of pushing their aggressions to that point where resistance will become necessary and virtuous on the part of the South. Emboldened by past success, and by the mercenary tone of a few Southern politicians, the most insulting propositions have been entertained and discussed in the Congress the present session, and at this time a bill is pending in the Legislature of New York, which makes it a crime punishable with great severity for a citizen of that State to obey the Constitution of the United States, by surrendering fugitive slaves to their rightful owners. This outrageous bill will be supported by a large portion, if not a majority of that legislature. Southerners should look to these movements in the North, and meet them on the threshold of this controversy. This is a time when the interest of country should swallow up all interests of party, and all men of all parties should unite in resisting the threatened dangers. Under these circumstances we read with great pleasure the following resolutions of Virginia and Florida, and those we published a few days since, adopted by the Legislature of North Carolina, all of which take substantially the same ground and which were adopted with great unanimity.

From the Columbia (S. C.) Telegraph.

"THE MODERATION OF THE SOUTH!"

In the House of Representatives last week at Washington, Mr. Edwards, of Ohio, from the committee on the District of Columbia, reported a bill to prohibit the introduction of slaves into the District, as merchandise, or for hire, which was read, and provides that persons so offending shall be considered guilty of a misdemeanour, and punished by a fine of $500, and all such contracts shall be null and void.

Members, and other non-residents, however, are permitted to bring their slaves into the District, for their own personal use, and also citizens to whom bequests of slaves may be made. The first of August next is fixed as a period when the law shall go into effect.

Mr. Edwards moved that the bill be printed, and referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

"Mr. Wentworth was in favour of immediate action, and hoped the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Edwards) would go with him, in an effort to secure the passage of this bill, which he considered a good one—*as good a one as could be passed at the present session—and a better must be left for a future Congress.*"

And yet with these aggressions repeated every day and hour, and avowals of a determination to sap and undermine our safeguards, a print published not two hundred miles from this place, (the Augusta *Chronicle*,) can palter with the peril, and play into the hands of our enemies by lulling the South into a fatal slumber. "The moderation of the South!" God help us, if such *moderation* as it and its compeers counsel, were the true feeling of the South—which we utterly repudiate and deny. Let the editor of that print take off the party bandage which blinds his eyes, and look at the ominous signs of the times displaying themselves in the popular movements and tone of the press throughout the entire South—and he will find that what he terms "moderation," the masses stigmatize as apathy or treachery. The petty malevolence displayed against Mr. Calhoun, will not distress that great Statesman very terribly—the "Old Lion" has received too many kicks of the same sort to heed much either the assaults or the perpetrators; nor was the rock of Gibralter ever yet stormed by a cock-boat. There was a time in Georgia when the people suspected his motives and dreaded his ambition, but that time has passed—all his ambitious aspirations he has nobly offered up upon the altar of patriotism, and all Southern men must now acknowledge his honesty and truthfulness on this great question of Southern Equality, of which he has been the mightiest champion. It is worse than idle, therefore, for a Southern print to give colour and countenance to the pretexts of our assailants, by feeble flippancies, and appeals to old prejudices, as some seem disposed to do—seduced into this course, no doubt, by early associations, which a long residence at the South has not been enabled entirely to obliterate. What, for instance, must be the effect produced by long articles the tone and temper of which the following extract from one of them will clearly show:

"Northern Abolitionists and Free Soilers are in great tribulation at the '*moderation of the South.*' They say and feel that this 'moderation is dangerous' to them. The 'Liberty party' could not live a year in any State in the Union, if entirely neglected and permitted to beat the empty air in idle amusement. No man or party can long fight alone. All that the most doughty champion of Anti-Slavery fanaticism can do is to bite his own nose off. To keep the head of abolitionism above water, to prevent its leaders from sinking to rise no more from the great things forgotten, they cry imploringly to Mr. Calhoun—they look most wishfully to South Carolina, *to agitate the 'Slavery question.'* 'Without agitation we perish.' 'Give us the bread of excitement or we starve.'—*Augusta Chronicle.*

This is followed up by a long rigmarol in the same strain—all going to show that in this matter the wrong insult and injury are on the part of Southern Agitators—Messrs. Calhoun & Co. a Democratic ruse intended only for the benefit of the Democratic party and the distraction of the Whig—there being no real cause for excitement or agitation.

When such tame subserviency to the partisan whip is not manifested by those *supposed* to echo public opinion in our midst, why should not our foes take heart, and lay the scourge still more heavily on the backs of the shrinking victims too abject and spiritless even to dare to murmur?

We solemnly protest against such doctrines and such assertions! No such "*moderation*" is manifested in the South, save by those partizan presses eager for the spoils of victory, or prizing the harmony of *the Party* above all else. We proudly point to the tone of the whole Southern Press from Virginia to Mexico, (with a few exceptions designated.) We point to the solemn Resolutions passed by all the Southern Legislatures in session, making the distinct issue of Equality or Resistance.

We point to the public gatherings, even in Georgia—which these *moderates* would misrepresent—breathing stern defiance; and warn these purblind encouragers of Northern fanatics and knaves, that the grim silence of the South which they mistake for indifference, is the silence of settled resolve—and that if goaded to action the fault will rest upon their heads for deceiving the North—not upon those of the "agitators" who have warned them not to urge too far the spirit which they have already provoked: nor fan the smouldering fire to burst forth into a fierce and consuming flame.

We have penned these hasty lines in no unkind spirit, but from a sincere conviction of the truths we have stated, and their important bearing upon the future safety of the South and of the Union. Those who deride or disregard them, will discover their true interests when too late.

From the Columbia S. C. Telegraph

"IT IS TIME FOR THE SOUTH TO CALCULATE THE VALUE OF THE UNION."

Mr. Editor: When, twenty years ago, the patriotic author of the above sentiment first gave it utterance, it was received with an universal and general burst of indignation from one end of the Union to the other. Since then, however, a change has come over the spirit of the dream, and we can appreciate the political foresight, the genuine love of liberty which prompted it. The most prudent, cautious and patriotic citizens of the South now feel, that the issue is being rapidly forced upon us, either to give up our equality and rights under the Federal Compact—to become vile and degraded slaves of insolent and oppressive aggressors—or burst asunder the bonds which have hitherto connected us as one people. Which horn of the dilemma shall we choose? Shall we submit, or shall we secede? The response of every right minded man, of every enthusiastic lover of liberty is, secede by all means. And to this result the signs of the times unerringly point. The separation of the Methodist Episcopal and Baptist Churches broke the first strong link that bound the different sections together—the rabid fanaticism of Northern politicians will sever the last. As a Southern man, devoted to my section, and believing *Liberty* a jewel more priceless than the Union itself, I say God speed the event. While I am free to admit, that this Union was for the first thirty years after its formation, a source of great and manifold blessings to the whole country, I cannot resist the conviction—and it is a painful one—that it has long since ceased to be so. When I remember that it was created for the purpose of securing equal rights and blessings for each and every section of the country, and contrast it with what it now is, I feel that it has been sadly perverted, and that I am no longer a freeman, reposing under the broad Ægis of its protection. Much, very much, should be borne before separation, but there is a point beyond which forbearance ceases to be a virtue, and that point has long been reached. The unjust and oppressive system of taxation under the colour of law, by which the South has literally been gutted to build up and foster Northern interests—a system by which the State of South Carolina alone has been robbed [according to the estimate of a distinguished but retired statesman,] of upwards of 200,000,000 of dollars, would long since have exhausted the patience of any people but the generous and forbearing South. Our patience, our unwillingness to disturb the Union for a matter of taxation though "insulting and insufferable in its character," has but invited aggression—has but emboldened the aggressors. Not content with having robbed us of our income, they now insultingly ask that we shall acknowledge, aye sir, in the face of the world, our inferiority, by a patient acquiescence in the base and damnable attempt *to exclude us from all territory* acquired by the blood and treasure of the whole country, but chiefly by the blood and treasure of the South. Shall we permit this thing tamely and quietly?—Shall we lie down like lambs to be shorn of our fleece, that our *enemies* may be enriched thereby. God forbid that it should ever be so. No matter what may be the course of other States, God forbid that South Carolina should ever proclaim her degenerate bastardy by *such a course*. God forbid that she should even tacitly acknowledge her readiness for the yoke or the livery of a master. No! no! no! Rather sir, let her imitate the example of an illustrious revolutionary ancestry, and proclaim her unalterable determination *to be free* or trample under foot this *now unhallowed* contract of union. Unaided and alone I would do this. Our forefathers contended for *Disunion*, a separation from the mother country, for a less cause than this, and with greater odds against them; and shall we, their sons, prove ourselves unworthy of the inheritence of Liberty, transmitted to us by their blood and sufferings, because forsooth we may be weak and our oppressors strong.

"Thrice is he armed that has his quarrel just."

Aye sir, three times thrice would we be armed fighting, *if fight we must*, not only for liberty, but, our hearthstones, our wives, our children. But sir, we would not stand alone. If our sister States of the South aggrieved alike would not stand by our sides in their sovereign capacities, many of their noble sons would rush to the rescue. Virginia, noble Virginia, the banner State of the South would pour forth her thousands and tens of thousands. The descendants of the "Knights of the golden horse shoe," would not be laggard in such a conflict.—The sons of the old North State too, would chafe for the contest, as did their sires at Mecklenburg in 1776, and Georgians, gallant Georgians, ever ready to brave the insolence of power, and the strong arm of Federal tyranny, would trample under foot the BETRAYERS OF THEIR HONOUR AND THEIR RIGHTS, AS SCORPIONS THAT HAD STUNG THEM, and spill their richest blood in the righteous cause. Alabama, Mississippi, and indeed every slaveholding State would, side by side with us, re-echo the sentiment of the gallant Davis, at Buena Vista, "Out with your bowie knives, and at them boys." But sir, should my ardent anticipations not be realized, and we be destined to stand alone in this conflict for our rights, be it so. I would prefer annihilation even to submission under any circumstances. We can only be slaves under any result of the conflict—we would without resistance be worse than slaves—we would be both slaves and cowards. And sir, if in the end, the insolent threat be enforced, of *partitioning us off to our sister States*, we will at least have the consolation of unhappy Poland,

under like circumstances—the consolation of having endured the catastrophe in defence of our rights, and from an inability, physical inability, longer to continue the contest. LIBERTY.

The editor of the *Telegraph* approves of the articles of his correspondent, and, among other things says:

The communication in to-day's paper on the subject of the present position of the Southern States, and our duty in relation to it, is from the pen of a citizen of a neighbouring District—a planter who has a large stake involved, and a gentleman of influence and sagacity.

We have not felt at liberty to withhold the expression of his opinions, although to many they may seem intemperate, and violent; yet, when men of his character and position so think and feel, it shows the spirit animating the masses of our people, however little its depth and intensity may be understood by mere politicians, looking only to the interests of the party to which they may be attached. * * * * *

It will not do to mince matters now, and in our humble judgment boldness is our true policy. We have "watched and waited" long enough, until like Gulliver in the hands of the Lilliputians, a thousand invisible threads bind us to the earth. Without a vigorous effort and a speedy one, our fate will be both forlorn and wretched.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY MARCH 8, 1849.

A Day in June.

SNAP, chord of manhood's tenser strain!
To-day I will be a boy again;
The mind's pursuing element,
Like a bow slackened and unbent,
In some dark corner shall be leant;
The robin sings, as of old, from the limb,
The cat-bird croons in the lilac-bush,
Through the dim arbor, himself more dim,
Silently hops the hermit-thrush,
The withered leaves keep dumb for him;
The irreverent buccaneering bee
Hath stormed and rifled the nunnery
Of the lily, and scattered the sacred floor
With haste-dropt gold from shrine to door;
There, as of yore,
The rich, milk-tinging buttercup
Its tiny polished urn holds up,
Filled with ripe summer to the edge,
The sun in his own wine to pledge;
And our tall elm, this hundredth year
Doge of our leafy Venice here,
Who, with an annual ring, doth wed
The blue Adriatic overhead,
Shadows with his palatial mass
The deep canals of flowing grass,
Where glow the dandelions sparse
For shadows of Italian stars.

O, unestranged birds and bees!
O, face of nature always true!
O, never unsympathising trees!
O, never-rejecting roof of blue,
Whose rash disherison never falls
On us unthinking prodigals,
Yet who convictest all our ill,
So grand and unappeasable!
Methinks my heart from each of these
Plucks part of childhood back again,
Long there imprisoned, as the breeze
Doth every hidden odour sieze
Of wood and water, hill and plain;
And I will store the secret wise
For days less generously bright,
As Cereus hoards from noontide skies
The fiery forces to bloom at night.
In this June cell will I abide,
Warmwoven through the livelong year;
Into this inlet will I glide,
Sandzoned and paved with pebbly cheer,
When the heart is at its deadlow tide
And the weedy, perilous shoals appear.

The good old time, close hidden here,
Persists, a loyal cavalier,
While Roundheads prime, with point of fox,
Probe wainscot-chink and empty box;
Here no hoarse-voiced iconoclast
Insults thy statues, royal Past;
Myself too prone the axe to wield,
I touch the silver side of the shield
With lance reversed, and challenge peace,
A willing convert of the trees.

Upon these elm-arched solitudes
No hum of neighbour toil intrudes;
The only hammer that I hear
Is wielded by the woodpecker,
The single noisy calling his
In all our leaflied Sybaris;
The perfect peace of this June sky,
Makes earth one closet of devotion,
One sweet and solemn privacy;
Ah, sure not long, too happy lot,
This paper-nautilus calm can float
Upon our treacherous summer ocean!

How chanced it that so long I tost
A cable's length from this rich coast,
With foolish anchors hugging close
The beckoning weeds and lazy ooze,
Nor had the wit to wreck before
Upon this fortunate island's shore
Whither the current of the sea
With wider drift persuaded me?

Oh, might we but of such rare days
Build up the spirit's dwelling-place,
A temple of so Parian stone
Would brook a marble god alone,
The statue of a perfect life;
Far shrined from earth's bestaining strife!
Alas! though such felicity
In our vext world here may not be,
Yet, as sometimes the peasant's hut
Shows stones which nicer forethought cut
With text inspired, or mystic sign
Of the Eternal and Divine,
Torn from the consecration deep
Of some fallen nunnery's mossy sleep,
So, from the ruins of this day
Crumbling in golden dust away,
The soul one gracious block may draw,
Carved with some fragment of the law,
Which, set in life's uneven wall,
Old benedictions may recall,
And lure some nunlike thoughts to take
Their dwelling here for memory's sake.

J. R. L.

It is lawful, says the old Latin maxim, to learn from an enemy; and we have seen nothing of late more instructive on the subject of Slavery, than a communication addressed to the Governor of Alabama by one G. Heydenfeldt, who is urging the Governor to recommend to the Legislature prohibition of the further immigration of slaves into that State and makes some admissions which came with double weight from one whose object in advocating such prohibition, is the perpetuation, not the abolition of slavery. Mr. Heydenfeldt says that the Anti-Slavery party which, he acknowledges, exists in the Slave States, will, taking advantage of, and assisted by circumstances, eventually succeed in compassing the destruction of the conservative element of Southern society. He does not favour half-way measures. The danger and futility of compromises with evil he perfectly understands, and insists therefore upon the immediate and total prohibition of the domestic slave trade. A measure similar to that which he proposes was once tried—that of prohibiting the introduction of slaves for sale; but it failed, partly, he thinks, because the public mind was not prepared for it, but chiefly because the law was evaded. He explains how:

The State of Mississippi, I am informed, once had a similar law, and to provide against evasions, enacted that no slaves brought into the State for the ostensible purpose of settlement should be sold or offered for sale within twelve months.

The result was that the slave dealers established plantations, stocked them with full supplies of negroes, and at the end of the required twelve month's residence sold out, and replenished again from abroad, and thus went through the same formula each succeeding year. The only probable advantage which the law conferred, enured to the negro dealer. It taught him that he could carry on his business more profitably and at less expense by having a farm, and raising his supplies of necessaries in the centre of the slave market.

Is not this a lesson for gradualists of all sects? But he shows more clearly, presently, how inefficient any measures for the prohibition of the slave trade, and incidentally, for the abolition of Slavery, are that do not at once exterminate that which it is sought to be rid of. He proposes that the introduction of slaves into Alabama for any purpose be totally prohibited, and that any one who shall venture to infringe upon the provisions of such law, shall not only forfeit the slaves so introduced, but be proceeded against as a common felon. Why he deems this the only safe course he proceeds to state:

It is very evident to any one, who is not a careless observer, that *a restless and uneasy state of public feeling exists in the Slave States north of us upon the subject of Slavery*. Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, are pervaded with a feeling of hostility to the institution, which is only suspended from open exhibition and action by the dread of pecuniary loss, and the hope of finally shifting their slave population for value received upon the Southwestern States. This last alternative will doubtless be accelerated by the enactment of prospective emancipation laws, *which means simply what it has ever meant by* the States which have already abolished Slavery—that is, that their citizens may have time enough to sell us their slaves, and having pocketed their price, to unite against us in the unjust and bitter crusades of the Northern Abolitionists.

It will then be easy to foresee that the Gulf States must become the St. Domingo of the Continent, to rush into a war of extermination, to the utter prostration of their capital.

He further argues that as those States comprise more than half of the political strength of the Slave States, it is wise to attempt to keep such strength unbroken by compelling the Northern Slave States to preserve the system of Slavery, by denying them an outlet for their surplus slave population, or, if they were determined on getting rid of Slavery by emancipation, that they shall not be permitted to do so at the expense of the region further South. But this latter alternative, he thinks, need not be apprehended, for they will not dare to emancipate slaves whom they can not also exile. Mr. Hydenfeldt is evidently not of the modern school of doctors, who believe that the safety of the patient is best secured by bringing the disease to the surface; he would drive it in. But what better could we expect from one who mistakes disease for health? Though even then we wonder that he does not fear a plethora. He sees that an Anti-Slavery party exists even among his own neighbours in Alabama, but he can not see that the more stringent his measures to establish the system, the more certain will be the reaction. He says

But a stronger reason for immediate action upon this question lies nearer at home and may be a startling assertion to those who have never investigated the subject. *We have in our midst the germ of an Anti Slavery party* (not in the northern sense of the term) no man who sympathises with the slave, and would therefore turn them loose upon society; but composed of those who are wearied with the struggle of unproductive labour; *those who deem of Slavery that it has produced naught but bitterness*, those who desire more populous white communities for the purposes of trade and education; and of those who regard the slave as their rival in production. *This combination of opinion against Slavery has prodigiously increased within a few years, and is now increasing among us at a rapid pace. Numbers are every day added to those who long for the exodus of the slave*; and unless we adopt, as a conservative measure, the plan here proposed, the time will come when we will see our capital in this species of property prostrated at a blow, and when, unprepared for such a change by any of the steps which a prudent foresight always adopts in mitigation we will be in the same condition of poverty, and embarrassment, without hope, which the misrule of Great Britain upon this same question has inflicted upon her West Indian dependencies. Upon this subject we cannot take the past as any indication of the security of the future.

Here are admissions which should cheer the hearts of the men of the North who have so long laboured to create a public sentiment which should at length give those of the South, who feel but dare not shake off the oppression under which they struggle, strength and courage to rouse themselves to action. Mr. Heydenfeldt evidently doubts whether he acts quite wisely in thus exposing family secrets:

Some may think this an imprudent exposition under the present aspect of the relations existing between the North and South. I humbly conceive that those relations create a stronger reason why the eyes of the South should be opened to the truth upon the question of extending Slavery into the new territories.

This question, we have here evidence for the hundredth time, is, the perpetuation of Slavery where it now exists. Prohibition of importation and encouragement to exportation are the safe-guard and safety valve of the system:

If there is anything which can unite the South in a firm and determined attitude to resist any deprivation of her rights of emigration and occupation, it is the fact that she is already over-supplied with a labouring population not sufficiently productive to remunerate her, and about the future fate of which she is compelled to entertain just and reasonable apprehensions.

Slave labour, says Mr. Heydenfeldt, is unproductive, and is gradually but surely impoverishing the State. This he attributes to the low price of cotton and sugar, and that to the non production of these articles consequent upon too large increase of the slave population and the increased cultivation further South. But if the increase of slaves is stopped by prohibiting importation, and the increase of the production of cotton arrested at the same time, and as a consequence, then, reasons Mr. Hydenfeldt, slave-labour will be turned into more productive channels. We confess that we do not see the force of his arguments on this point, for if, as he contends, the labour of slaves should be turned to the production of wealth from all the natural resources of the State, the more slaves they have the better. However his instincts are unerring if his logic is false. The slave-interest of Alabama demands a prohibitory tariff on the Slave-Trade of Virginia, as certainly as that Virginia required it on that of the Guinea coast. Mr. Heydenfeldt may be sure of that, however much he may stumble in trying to prove it. When he comes to the statement of facts relating to the effects of Slavery on the prosperity of the State, he is remarkably clear:

The State of Alabama is now poorer than she was fifteen years ago—notwithstanding that, within that period of time, there has been expended within her limits nearly ten millions of foreign capital, and for which a heavy State debt is now hanging over her people, at the same time that her resources for taxation are every day diminishing; and while a question of fearful domestic import is agitated for her destruction, her political strength is yielding to the rottenness of a system which must finally reduce it to a cypher. The statistics of population exhibit, that as slaves increase, the white population decrease. This seems to be a law of population. With us in the aggregate, it is undeniable, that slaves continue to increase, and if this is permitted to progress, with the consequent diminution of white population, the far future of the South presents a picture, which, although now but "seen through a glass darkly," is of sufficient gloom to arouse into action her best energies, and prevent her from quiescently transmitting to posterity a problem, the solution of which seems so dreary a task.

But when Mr. Heydenfeldt gets upon the question of the social condition of man, he is most worth reading. He is evidently puzzled. One thing only is plain to him—that Slavery is a sad thing if you have too much of it. But how to keep it in limits, he evidently dare not consider. He cannot look the matter in the face, and ask, what is to be the end of it? Up to a certain point Alabama was prosperous, just as Texas is now, as a slave-importing State. Her prosperity must at that point cease, as that of Texas will one day cease from the same cause, if she does not become a slave-exporting State. But when there and everywhere else, exporting ceases to be a possibility, (because then there is no place that needs to import—why, what then? what issue is there from this dilemma, in the Heydenfeldt political economy? Clearly none. The disease will have been driven in to such purpose that the body politic must die of convulsions.

Mr. Heydenfelt winks this out of sight, or thinks it perhaps, in consideration of the fact that the Continent, on the South, is bounded by the Straits of Magellan, as little worthy of consideration, as at what time Encke's or some other Comet shall turn tail upon, and put out the earth. But the abstract question of right he stumbles over sadly. If Slavery is a good thing why should it not be good for the labouring class everywhere, is a question which he asks but does not answer. A struggle for rights is "untutored radicalism," the extension of Slavery is the "improving spirit and political economy of the age;" but nevertheless there is even in the Heydenfeldt philosophy a better time coming to do away with the "poverty and ignorance which combined produce the mob," though precisely how he comes to that conclusion, from his starting point, we confess we are at a loss to understand. We venture to assure him that he must look for his State to remain in the semi-barbarism which she is now blessed withall, or for her to abolish Slavery, if she is to nurture within her bosom the legitimate and healthy child of Free-Labour. But Mr. Heydenfeldt shall speak for himself on these points.

But, it may be inquired, why put restrictions upon the growth of an institution which has received the high praise of being conservative? for although it be less productive than other species of labour, is it not also less dangerous? That it is conservative, to a limited extent, I will not undertake to deny; but beyond this limit, as this whole argument proves it must be disorganizing from its very impoverishing tendency. I have also sincere doubts whether this phase of the question of social conservatism has or ever will have any real merits in this country, whatever its importance in older and more populous ones. It is supposed that our slaves, representing as they do the labouring class of other countries, are so absolutely controlled as to remove any fears of the untutored radicalism which seems to threaten the peace of these communities. If such an argument be good at all, it would, as a consectary, lead to the social enslavement, or the extinction, of every free labouring population, so as to ensure the conservation of order, and prevent the much feared peril of a conflict between labour and capital. But the fear of such a conflict with us, however distant, is, in my opinion, the result of a want of proper perception of the improving spirit and political economy of the age. We have yet to acquire the population to be feared, and it may safely be assumed that the great poverty leading to the debasement of any class has been well attributed to unequal and unjust laws, resulting from partial and ignorant legislation. There is enough in the world to supply every mouth, and this can be easily done, with a little more attention to the equity of distribution. True, we cannot destroy the distinction between wealth and poverty, which is necessary, and must always exist as long as men are created with unequal intellectual and physical proportions; but by the enactment of many just and wholesome laws, and the abrogation of the errors and inequalities of a legislation which yet shadows boldly its feudal descent, we may so mitigate the distinction as to prevent that amount of poverty and ignorance which, combined, produce the mob. And this, in the present enlightened and progressive phase of society, we have reason to expect and to hope.

To the closing sentiment of this remarkable letter we respond a most hearty Amen. "What I have attempted," says Mr. Heydenfeldt, "has been with a pure devotion to the interests and prosperity of a country blessed beyond all others in her natural condition, but the development of whose resources are so far behind the civilization of the world as makes her seem to lack the Genius of Humanity." Not seems, but is, sir! The Genius of Humanity fled long ago from the Slave States of the American Union.

THE SPIRIT OF CHRIST?

The *Anti-Slavery Standard*, commenting upon an advertisement that lately appeared in the *Index*, uses the following language:

"The text is from a pious Baptist sheet—which is death on the heresy of infant baptism, and would send anybody incontinently to hell for advocating it—called the *Christian Index*, published at Pennfield, Ga."

These men are so carried away by their abstractions as to neglect the great commands of God. "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." If the above is a fair sample of their talk, they may be said to be "death" on the truth. Deluded men! "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of."—*Christian Index.*

But we know well enough what manner of spirit we are *not* of. The spirit of him who said, "suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of Heaven," never conceived of the sort of guardianship which the *Index* approves of in the advertisement we quoted, and which was as follows:

GUARDIAN'S SALE.—Will be sold, on Tuesday, the 6th of February, a negro girl, about the age of 16 or 17 years, for the benefit of legatees. GUARDIAN.

Now will the pious editor of that Journal answer this question fairly—whose infraction of the commands of God is greatest, the Guardian thus advertising, or a Guardian who should insist upon administering baptism to young children under his charge?

IMPOSTURE EXPOSED.—There appeared, about two months since, in the *Liberator* a statement headed "Beware of New Orleans!" and signed "John Callis" and "Charlotte Callis." Its purport was that the said John and Charlotte shipped, in May 1847, the first as cook, and the second as stewardess, on board the schooner "Comet," at Baltimore, John Frisby, master, bound for Tampico and New Orleans; that on the arrival of the vessel at the latter port they were arrested by the proper authorities, and after the usual preliminaries placed in the chain-gang, chained together, where they continued for some months; that in March 1848 the man—John Callis—was recognised by Lieutenant Carpenter of the United States Navy, under whom he had served on the Pacific Station, in the frigate Constitution, in 1838; and that through the efforts of this gentleman both Callis and his wife were released and permitted to return to the North. It is further stated that the inability of the parties to liquidate their jail fees led to some delay, but they at length shipped on board a vessel which made a voyage to Europe and returned to New Orleans, where, after being deprived of all their wages to satisfy their jail fees, they obtained a passage for Boston.

This whole story is, no doubt, a fabrication. There is no lieutenant in the U. S. N. by the name of Carpenter, but we learn from *Capt.* Carpenter (who is no doubt referred to that he knows no man by the name of Callis—that he was not in N. Orleans in March 1848, but at that time was stationed at Norfolk—that he was not in the Constitution in 1838—and that when he has served on board that vessel that there was no person of the name of Callis among her people. The man who has taken this name has probably been in New Orleans, and has served under Captain Carpenter, perhaps, in the Constitution, under a different name, but further than that we do not believe his story to contain a word of truth. It was first told in Boston, where, as there was nothing improbable in it, it obtained credit, and the narrator some money. He then came to New York and met with the same success. He also pretended to be in possession of a large amount of property in this city, which he was desirous that some careful friend should sell for him, and reinvest the proceeds. Such property we find does not exist, and Callis, who left at this office his address, both at his residence and at a store where, he said, he had procured work, is not to be found. He is not known at either of those places. We do not hesitate therefore to denounce him as an impostor, and state our reasons for thinking so, and the main points of the story he tells that the public may be on its guard.

The following capital letter which we find in a late number of the *Liberator*, will surprise nobody who knows its author, though the act which it records is one which few would have the moral courage to commit. There is sometimes a power in the simple course of a genuine Come-outer which is worth all the protests that were ever made:

Letter from Francis Jackson.

To the Secretary of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association.

SIR:—It is well known that, for a long time, the Association entertained the project of building a hall for its use, as a place for holding its meetings, and transacting its business.

With this view, land was purchased, and the long desired object seemed about to be realized, when a sudden and remarkable change occurred; the building of the hall was abandoned, and it was decided to erect a hotel.

This has been done, and the spacious Revere House was built, and is now owned by the Massachusetts Charitable Association.

At the opening of this house as a hotel, the members of this Association, with their families, assembled to view the establishment and partake of a collation.

On this festive occasion, the President of the Association, in an address to the assembled company, is reported to have said 'this is to be a temperance house—there is to be no bar—nothing will be allowed within its walls injurious to the public morals, or offensive to good taste.' Nor on this occasion were any intoxicating drinks seen or served, but the grateful spectacle was presented of this association of upwards of 700 members, by word and deed, thus publicly entering their emphatic protest against the demoralising traffic in alcohol. But how has this voluntary pledge been redeemed? Let the facts answer.

The House has been leased for ten years, without any prohibition against the sale of intoxicating drinks, and it is now a matter of common notoriety, that the whole fund of the Association, upwards of 50,000 dollars, the savings and accumulations of more than half a century, are invested in a rum tavern.

Yes—we are now, as a society, receiving pecuniary consideration for this iniquitous traffic, and through the officers or agents of the Association, have agreed to do so for ten years.

We have thus, in our associate capacity, done that which, as individuals, a large portion of the members would on no consideration consent to do; and we can claim no other excuse, and offer no better reason for our act, than can the owners of the tippling cellars in Broad and Ann streets; to wit: 'it puts money in our purse.' Towards that portion of the Association who feel that the traffic in alcohol inflicts serious injury upon society, and that all its influences are demoralizing, this use of the common funds is highly unjust, inasmuch as the associate act is in direct opposition to their deepest convictions and most cherished principles—they are placed by it in a false position; and while on the one hand as individuals, their labour and hopes are devoted to the cause of temperance, on the other, in their associate capacity, they are pandering to the traffic in alcohol, and receiving the wages of that iniquity.

For aught that can be shown, it subjects them to the alternative of becoming participants in wrong doing, or compels them to withdraw from the Association; either way a hardship, not to say insult, to which, in common fairness and courtesy, they should not have been subjected.

For these reasons, I withdraw from the Association; with which I have been connected for more than a third of a century, and request that my name may be stricken from the roll of its members.

Respectfully,

FRANCIS JACKSON.

Boston, Dec. 16, 1848.

DOINGS AT WASHINGTON.—We publish in another column a report of the last day of the present session of Congress, which we copy from the *Tribune*. It came by Telegraph, and is therefore sometimes confused, but conveys in general a sufficiently clear notion of the proceedings. One important correction, however, should be made. It will be observed, that no less than three fights occurred, or at least attacks were made upon three persons; a Senator, and two members of the House, in the course of the debate. These attacks were made by members from the *South* upon others from the *North*. Bad as we are, we would not have any of the readers of our paper abroad, suppose that such ruffianism could commence any where except among those fellows from the half civilized regions south of Mason and Dixon's line, who have neither the aspect of Christians, the morals of Pagans, nor the manners of gentlemen.

We publish also the Inaugural Address of General Taylor, which has, at least, one great merit—brevity. The address is well enough for a presidential address, and contains perhaps as little of twaddle, and as few lies as we have any right to expect. We wonder, however, as his space was so small, that he did not, if only for the novelty of the thing, try to get through without insulting the common sense of mankind by the usual vapid boasts of our liberty, virtue and happiness. We had hoped that General Taylor had something of that sort of rough honesty which his admirers attribute to him, and would not condescend to the Pickwickian vein which characterises our public men; but if he ever had it, he has lost it since they made a Whig of him. That they have done that effectually, the address is sufficient evidence.

General Taylor has chosen his Cabinet, which consists of the following named persons:

JOHN M. CLAYTON, of Delaware, Secretary of State.
WM. M. MEREDITH, of Penn. Secretary of Treasury.
THOMAS H. EWING, of Ohio, Home Department.
W. BALLARD PRESTON, of Va. Secretary of the Navy.
GEO. W. CRAWFORD, of Georgia, Secretary of War.
JACOB COLLAMER, of Vt. Postmaster General.
REVERDY JOHNSON, of Maryland, Attorney-General.

The estimate which the president put upon the abilities of Mr. Abbott Lawrence, and that of that gentleman himself did not agree. He was offered a seat in the Cabinet, but would take nothing but the Secretaryship of the Treasury, and that General Taylor did not choose to give him.

The Confessions of Lamartine.

In the *Standard* of the 15th of February, we copied from the *Home Journal* the "Letter of Lamartine prefatory to his Confessions." It was scarcely in type when we received from a friend in Paris a translation made especially for our columns, with a promise that the translation of the work should be continued as fast as it appeared in the *Presse* of that city, where it is being published in numbers. The first Chapter of the work accordingly was sent us by the last steamer, and will be found on the 4th page of this week's paper. The publication will be continued as fast as we receive the MSS.

If there are any of our readers who are not aware of the purport of this work, if they will turn to the *Standard* of February 15th, they will, we think, thank us and our attentive correspondent in Paris for the opportunity to read it.

Of Lamartine, as an author, we need say nothing: of the ability of our translator we have the best evidence in the three columns which we, this week, lay before the reader; and as to the character of the work itself, if the Preface and the opening Chapter do not excite intense curiosity to see what is to follow, it is hardly worth while to say that the work is universally read, and everywhere with the deepest interest, in Europe, for that can be of little consequence to those who cannot appreciate the work itself. We do not, however, believe that there are many such among our readers.

The work is, we believe, published in French in the *Courier des Etats Unis*, of this city, but in no other paper in this country. We shall probably receive a Chapter by every steamer, and shall not be far behind the original as it appears in the Paris newspapers.

SLAVE LABOUR ON RAILROADS.—It is said that the slaves on the Columbia (Ga.) Railroad not only work well, but each hand is securing to his owner from three hundred to three hundred and fifty dollars worth of stock per annum.—*Phil. Sun.*

The slaves who work on railroads at the North are not owned by individuals, but by a *class*, and they are fully as profitable to their owners as are those of the South. So eager are they to *work*, that they actually fight with each other for the privilege, so that other lacklanders have to be called out in military array to protect those who will work the cheapest, and their owners are not obliged to support those for whom they cannot find work, or those who are too sick or too old to work.—*Young America.*

There *is* a difference, however, though *Young America* cannot see it, in working where you may quit your work if you don't like your wages, and try to get better, and working where you get no wages at all, and if you stop, because that does n't suit you, you are scored with a cart-whip, or, if obstinate, shot like a dog. The liberty to *strike* even is something better than the liberty only of *being struck*.

THE BLACK LAWS OF ILLINOIS.—Dr. Maxwell, of Cork county, Illinois, on the last day of the session of the Legislature of that State, offered the following resolution, which was laid on the table by a vote of 30 to 20:

Resolved, By the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring herein, that so much of the laws of this State as apply to free people of colour, (commonly called Black Laws,) are tyrannical, invidious and oppressive, and in their operation upon this weak, unfortunate and harmless class of people, do infinite injury and injustice, and that the same are unbecoming the statutes of a free, magnanimous, enlightened and Christian people; and that in the opinion of this General Assembly the same should be so modified, amended and altered, as to relieve entirely free people of colour from this signal injury and oppression.

OHIO BLACK LAWS.—The Ohio *State Journal* gives the following synopsis of the provisions of the bill which has passed the Legislature of that State for the repeal of the Black Laws:

Sec. 1, provides for the creation of school districts for coloured schools, and creates the office of trustee for them.

Sec. 2, provides for the election of trustees, by the coloured tax payers.

Sec. 3, dedicates the taxes paid by coloured persons to the support of the coloured schools.

Sec. 4, provides that the districts for coloured persons shall be deemed distinct bodies politic.

Sec. 5, defines who shall be deemed coloured.

Sec. 6. repeals all laws creating disabilities, or conferring privileges on account of colour.

☞ THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE has passed another set of Anti-Slavery Resolutions. We do not copy them, as nobody, we presume, will have any doubt that they are very excellent. She has said good things so long on the subject of Slavery that to teach her to do otherwise would be like teaching an old dog new tricks. Unfortunately it is nothing but a trick with her—a habit she has.

☞ DR. C. T. JACKSON, of Boston, the discoverer of Ether, has, by a decree of the President of the French Republic, been made a Knight of the order of the Legion of Honour.

☞ We are glad to learn that Dr. E. D. Hudson, so long and so favourably known as an Anti-Slavery lecturer, has established a manufactory of Artificial Legs in Springfield, Massachusetts, which will probably prove a profitable business to him.

HON. GEORGE A. STARKWEATHER, M. C. from this State will accept our thanks for a copy of his speech on the Mexican Treaty.

General Intelligence.

Congressional.

In the Senate on the 24th, an interesting debate was had between Senators Webster, Calhoun, and others, some portions of which we copy, from the *Herald*, for the views advanced by the first named Statesmen on the question of territorial governments. The Civil and Diplomatic bill, with the California amendments, was before the Senate when, after some unimportant debate by other Senators, Mr. Downs rose to submit a few remarks upon one other constitutional point, and he hoped the Senate would indulge him, notwithstanding the importance of action upon the business awaiting the action of the Senate. Mr. Downs accordingly took Mr. Webster to task, for the position, for which the Senator from Massachusetts contended on Saturday last, to wit:—That the Constitution of the United States does not extend over the territories—that it is a compact between the States, and applies to them, and that the only clause of the Constitution which applies to the territories, is that which confers upon Congress the power "to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory of the United States." That it would be inconsistent and incongruous, that the Constitution should extend over the territories; for that, if it does, any act of Congress, providing temporary regulations for the territories, is an act of supererogation. Mr. Downs said that he should maintain the opposite ground, to wit:—That on the acquisition of the territories in question, the Constitution of the United States extended itself over them—that Congress cannot assume any authority over the territories superior to the authority of the Constitution, and that hence the supreme law of the Constitution must exist over the territories. In arguing the converse of this proposition, the Senator from Massachusetts had changed the whole ground of the North as pleaded at the last session. Then they contended that the Constitution did not carry Slavery into a territory; now they contend that to admit the Constitution, they admit, perhaps, the institution of Slavery, and hence we find them persisting in the position that the Constitution does not extend to the territories. Mr. Downs briefly argued out his proposition from the authorities of history, that the Constitution does extend over the territories; that it is competent to admit the new territories as States, and that California must and will, perhaps, within a year, be admitted as a State into the Union. * * *

Mr. UNDERWOOD argued that the Constitution of itself extended over the territories of the United States, and referred to some point of Mr. Webster's argument of Saturday, which he desired to answer.

Mr. WEBSTER explained, that the Congress were subservient to the Constitution in their regulations for the territories—that the Constitution applied to the governing power of Congress not to the territory itself.

Mr. UNDERWOOD would ask what would be the effect of an act of Congress prohibiting in the territory the reposing of any official trust to any person professing the Catholic religion?

Mr. WEBSTER—That would be a violation of the Constitution, which declares that Congress shall pass no act for the establishment of a religion.

Mr. UNDERWOOD said that was all the concession that he desired. It proved the existence of the Constitution even in the territories. Moreover, an oath was required by all officers of the Government, to support the Constitution, officers of territories, as well as of States.

Mr. WEBSTER said that this oath was but subsidiary to the action of the Government, on the appointment of the officers of the territories; that the Constitution followed the action of the Government.

Mr. UNDERWOOD argued that this limitation was too restricted. The Constitution exists apart from the action of the Government; it exists over the territories. Respecting the action of Congress for the territories, he appealed that the people of the territories be left to decide upon the question of Slavery for themselves, as the only place for the adjustment of this difficult and agitating question.

Mr. WEBSTER—Mr. President, the honourable member from South Carolina, who has just taken his seat, says that he is prepared to say boldly that the Northern States have not observed but have broken the compromises of the Constitution.

Mr. BUTLER—(in his seat.)—I said it.

Mr. WEBSTER—Yes, Mr. President, he said so. It is no duty of mine to take up a glove that is thrown to the whole world; it is no duty of mine to accept a general challenge. But if the honourable member shall see fit to be so obliging as to inform the Senate in my hearing, on what occasions the State whose representative I stand here, has forborne to observe or has broken the compromises of the Constitution, he will find in me a combatant on that question.

Mr. BUTLER—I take the liberty to ask the gentleman if, in every respect, she has sustained the laws of the United States?

Mr. WEBSTER—I have not yielded the floor, sir.

Mr. BUTLER—I asked the question in good faith.

Mr. WEBSTER—I do not doubt it. I will yield the floor with great pleasure if the Senator desires, (taking his seat.)

Mr. BUTLER—I understood the Senator to ask me whether the State of Massachusetts——

Mr. WEBSTER—(In his seat) No, sir.

Mr. BUTLER—My opinion is, then, if the Senator asked my judgment——

Mr. CALHOUN—(In his seat.) He did not ask you.

Mr. BUTLER—Then I beg your pardon, sir, for the interruption.

Mr. WEBSTER—I have not the least objection, sir; I did not make a point. I will hear the gentleman with the greatest respect—the respect which I always feel for him. All that I meant to say is, that if he is prepared to reduce what seemed to be a general charge to a particular charge, and if he shall undertake to specify or particularize any case in which the Legislature of the State whose representative I am here, has forborne to observe, or has broken, or attempted to break, or violate the compromises of the Constitution, it will be my duty to meet that question, and defend the rights of the State in which I live. I do not intend to go into that, sir, at all at present. Other States can answer for themselves. It is of some importance that we should seek to have clear ideas and correct notions of the question which this amendment of the honourable Sentl.is from Wisconsin presents to us; and especially that we should seek to get some conception of what is meant by a proposition of law to extend the Constitution of the United States to a territory. Why, the thing is utterly impossible. All the legislatures in the world, in the general form, could not accomplish it. There is no congruity; there is no case for the action of legislative power in such a regard as that. The Constitution—why, what is it? We extend the Constitution of the United States, by law, to a territory. Well, what is the first principle of the Constitution? Why, is it not that all within its influence and comprehension shall be represented in the legislature which it establishes; shall have not only a right of debate, but a right of vote; that all shall have representatives in both houses of the legislatures? Is not that the fundamental principle of the Constitution? Does it not all rest upon that? Can we, by law, extend that to a territory of the United States? Everybody will see that it is altogether impracticable. Well, the amendment goes on in the same way, and says, further, that the revenue laws shall, as far as they are suitable, be applied to this case. Now, I should like to know whether that qualification of the honourable member, as he understands it, applies, as far as it is suitable, to the Constitution itself; or whether he understands that qualification as applicable only to the revenue laws of the United States, which he proposes to establish in the territory.

Mr. WALKER—I would say this, sir, that whatever may have been said in the discussion of that point, it certainly was not my meaning to frame the amendment to extend the Constitution to this territory in those respects in which it is not applicable, but only those in which it may be applicable.

MR. WEBSTER—Then it comes to this, that the Constitution, as far as practicable, is to be extended to the territory; and how far it is practicable is to be left to the President of the United States; and, therefore, the President of the United States, after it is a territory, is an absolute despot over that territory. He is the judge of what is suitable and what is unsuitable, and what he thinks suitable he applies, and what he thinks unsuitable he refuses to apply. He is *omnes in hoc*. It is to say, in general terms, that the President of the United States shall govern this territory as he sees fit until Congress makes further provisions. If that be it, it is exactly leaving the territory under the military rule which now subsists over it. The President may make the custom-houses, as attempted in the case of Florida; but the amendment leaves every thing else exactly where it is. Now, if the gentleman will be kind enough to tell me what principles of the Constitution he supposes suitable—what distinction he will draw between the suitable and unsuitable, as applying to California—I shall be better instructed; but let me only say, sir, that in its general sense, there is no such thing as extending the Constitution of the United States over a territory. The Constitution of the United States is established over the United States and over nothing else. It can be established over nothing else than the existing States and over new States that shall come in hereafter; when they come in they come in under the Constitution. There is a confusion of ideas, sir, in this respect, which is quite remarkable among intelligent gentlemen, and especially among professional and judicial characters. It seems to be taken for granted that the right of trial by jury, of *habeas corpus*, and everything in the Constitution of the United States designed to protect personal liberty, by force of the Constitution, is extended over all acquired territory. That cannot be maintained; that proposition cannot be maintained at all. How did you arrive at it? Why, sir, by the loosest of all possible inferences. It is asked, is it possible that those of our fellow citizens are not entitled to the writ of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury? Yes, sir, it is very possible, and very true; it is exactly so, until the legislation of Congress gives them a form of government that takes with it and maintains these general principles of public liberty. Why, if the ideas of some gentlemen, the hopes of some persons were realised, and Cuba were to become a cession to the United States tomorrow, does any one suppose that the *habeas corpus* and trial by jury attaches itself to Cuba? Why any more let me ask? and let me ask, especially, the honourable Senator from South Carolina—why are they entitled to these rights any more than to our election laws and political franchises—popular franchises? Sir, the whole authority of Congress on this subject is comprised in that very short provision, that Congress shall have power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territories of the United States. The word is "territory," for it is quite evident that the framers of our Constitution looked to our new accessions to make new territories; but as territories have been acquired from time to time, they have been regarded as within that general scope and provision of the Constitution, and all are governed by that. We have never had a territory yet, either in respect to taxation, or in respect to representation, or judicature; or legislature, or anything else, but they have always had a Constitution peculiar to themselves, supposed to be appropriate to their condition, and which Constitution is the law of Congress establishing a territorial government; and that government may be one way, or it may be another. I need not say, and do not say, that while we sit here to legislate and pass laws for the territories, we are not bound by every one of the great principles of public liberty which were incorporated in our Constitution, and made the foundation upon which it rests. We should be unjust to ourselves, to the spirit of the Constitution, to the cause of liberty, and good government, if we failed to observe with religious scrupulousness, in the formation of a territorial government, any one of these great, free, liberal, popular conservative principles. These are the considerations that are to operate upon us in passing the law. These principles do not or cannot in their own authority, *proprio vigore*, attach to Cuba or any cession of territory made, because, upon a cession of territory to the United States, that territory does not become a part of the United States. I propose sir, not to pursue this discussion; but I do ask gentlemen, who are in the habit of discrimination—I ask the honourable Senator from South Carolina, particularly—to distinguish between the great principles that ought to govern us while we pass laws for the government of territories, and those principles which are inherent in our own system at home—part and parcel of the authority under which we act, and from which we are not at liberty in any case to depart. It seems to me that we may take any part of the Constitution of the United States that we think applicable to the territory, and enact that it shall be a law of the territory. It will be, but it will stand upon the enactment—upon the authority of the act of Congress, and not upon the general authority of the Constitution of the United States; because it is clear as daylight that the Constitution of the United States makes no provision whatever for the government of the territories, except that provision which leaves it all to the discretion of Congress, regarding them as not of the United States—not a part and portion of the United States—but as a territory owned by the United States and the Union established under the Constitution.

Mr. CALHOUN—Mr. President, I rise, not to detain the Senate to any extent, but to make a few remarks upon the proposition just advanced by the Senator from New Jersey, (Mr. Dayton,) endorsed in full by the Senator from New Hampshire, (Mr. Hale,) and partially endorsed by the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Webster,) that the Constitution of the United States does not extend to the territories. Now, sir, I am very happy to hear this proposition, for it will have the effect of narrowing the controversy to a very great degree between the North and the South as regards the Slave question. It is an implied admission on the part of these gentlemen to deny it; for if the Constitution does extend to the territories, the South will be protected in its property in the territories. It will be under the shield of the Constitution, and you can put no other interpretation upon the opposition which gentlemen have made to the extension of the Constitution over the territories of the United States. Then the simple question is, does the Constitution of the United States extend to the territories? Why sir, the Constitution interprets itself; it pronounces itself to be the "supreme law of the land."

MR. WEBSTER [in his seat]—What land?

Mr. CALHOUN—"The land." The land belonging to the United States, or the territories of the United States, as part of the land. Not the supreme law of the States only—wherever our flag goes, wherever our authority goes, the constitution, in part—in all its suitable parts—goes. Why sir, can we have authority beyond the constitution? I put the question to the honourable gentleman—if the constitution does not go there, how do we go there? Are we not subject to the constitution? Does not Congress hold its tenure under the constitution as it exists? Would it not be annihilated with the constitution? And shall we, the creature of the constitution, pretend that we have an authority beyond the reach of the constitution? Sir, I was told a few days since, that the Supreme Court of the United States had made a decision that the constitution did not extend to the territories but by act of Congress. I was incredulous, and I am incredulous, that any tribunal pretending to have a knowledge of our system of government should profess such a monstrous absurdity. Such a decision as that would be a significant omen. But, sir, I for one say it ought not, and never can prevail. The territories belong to us. They are ours, as representatives of the States of the Union. We are the representatives of certain States of this Union, and whatever authority the United States have in the territories, extends to us as well as to others. It is through the authority of the constitution that they have become ours. Sir, there are some questions that do not admit of argument. This is one of them. The mere statement carries with it the proof of the fact. I am rejoiced to hear gentlemen, by implication, acknowledge that if the constitution be there we are under its shield. The South want no higher or stronger grounds to stand upon. You have put us upon high grounds. You have admitted that the only means of defending your claims, and refusing ours, is to deny the existence of the constitution in the territories. The gentleman from Massachusetts, I say, only partially acknowledges it. He acknowledges that the great fundamental principles of our government may be carried there. He is right in that; he is right in that. Now, sir, is there a more fundamental principle than this—that this is a federal Union; that the States, as parts of the Union, are States to which the territory belongs in that capacity under the constitution? Is there a more fundamental principle than this—that there is a perfect equality between the members of the federal Union in all respects? There can be none, sir. The constitution forbids all discrimination which would subject one portion of the Union—nearly half the entire number—to the other portion, upon any question. Sir, I will not dwell upon this longer. I am ready to listen, if gentlemen choose to go on and show us by what ingenuity they can make out their case. It is a mere assertion to say that the constitution does not extend to the territories. Prove that proposition. Prove that it does not extend; that it is incapable to be extended. I hold the whole course of this debate to be triumphant upon this point. We are put upon higher grounds. We have much narrower grounds. It will be more easily understood where we stand, when it is admitted that we are only ousted by ousting the constitution.

Mr. DOUGLASS obtained the floor, but gave way to

Mr. WEBSTER—I am sorry to be in your way, sir, [to Mr. Douglass,] but I should be very glad to have an opportunity to reply to the Senator from South Carolina, last speaking. The honourable gentleman alludes to some decisions of the Supreme Court, about which I do not particularly know, as affirming that the constitution of the United States does not extend to the territories of the United States, and he says that he regards it as very extraordinary.

Mr. CALHOUN—I said I was told of them, but I was incredulous of the fact.

Mr. WEBSTER—Well, sir, I can remove the gentleman's incredulity; for the same thing has been decided in the Supreme Court of the United States for the last thirty years.

Mr. BUTLER asked for an instance.

Mr. WEBSTER.—In five minutes recollection, I could give you half a dozen.

Mr. BUTLER.—The case of Tanner?

Mr. WEBSTER.—That is one. I am somewhat surprised at his remarks; for I can tell the honourable Senator from South Carolina, that in forming this judgment upon the court of the United States, supposing them to have come to such a decision, he forms, as I can very readily convince him, an equally unfavourable judgment of his own repeated acts in both houses of Congress. Now, sir, the constitution of the United States, the gentleman argues, extends over the territories. What parts of them? How does it get there? Most especially, for a gentleman so distinguished among the strict constructionists of the country, to maintain that the constitution of the United States extends over the territories, without showing any clause of the constitution any way leading to that result, or from which such a result could in any way be inferred, increases, in my mind, the surprise. One idea further, sir, upon that branch of the subject. Does the constitution of the United States extend over the territories, and no other law over the territories? I beg to know, sir, how any political government would get on with any other authority over it, than such as is created by the constitution of the United States? Does the constitution of the United States settle titles to land? Does it settle rights of property? Does it ascertain the law of marriage? Does it fix the relations of parent and child, guardian and ward? Not one of them, sir. The constitution of the United States consists of what the gentleman calls a confederation for certain great purposes, leaving all the great mass of law which is to govern society, to derive itself from State fountains. That is a just view of our state of things here. A State or territory that had no law but such as it could derive from the constitution of the United States, would be entirely without any State government. But further, sir, the honourable gentleman has been in Congress these thirty years—conversant with every subject. I mean, of course, to except the time when, so much to the advantage of the country, he has been employed in another branch of the government. He has assisted in the establishment of these territorial governments from time to time, seen them always, assented to them always. Now, the honourable gentleman knows that the Congress of the United States have established principles and provisions respecting the territories utterly repugnant to the constitution of the United States. I will mention one that was alluded to just now by the honourable Senator from New Hampshire that the constitution of the United States provides for the United States an independent judiciary. Every judge of every court of the United States holds his commission and his office upon the tenure of good behaviour. No judge in any one of the territories which the honourable gentleman has himself contributed to establish, ever held his office upon such a tenure. He holds it for a term of years, or holds it removable at executive discretion.

Mr. DAYTON—How is it about Wisconsin?

Mr. WEBSTER—I do not know particularly about Wisconsin, but I remember vary well that Gen. Jackson turned

out the judges in Michigan, which was pretty near Wisconsin. [Laughter.] The tenures were all for a term of years. Now, sir, how did we govern Louisiana before it was a State? Did the writ of habeas corpus exist in Louisiana before its territorial government? Did the right of trial by jury? Who ever heard of trial by jury in Louisiana before it became a State, or before the law creating a territory gave it a right of trial by jury? Nobody, sir, nobody. It is well for us to look to our history. I do not believe much in new lights. The history of this government has shown that when a territory has been obtained by acquisition from foreign nations, the territory has been given by Congress, such laws as Congress should pass for its immediate government, and then such a law as Congress should pass for its government during its territorial existence—during its preparatory state, in which it should remain until it was fit to come in as one of the family States. Mr. President, the honourable member regards that the constitution declares itself the law of the land, and therefore must pervade the territories. The land, I take it, sir, means the land over which the constitution was established; or in other words, it means the United States, united under the constitution; but does not the gentleman see at once that that argument would prove a great deal too much? The constitution no more says that the constitution itself shall be the supreme law of the land, than it says that the laws of Congress shall be the supreme law of the land. They are both in the same position. "This constitution, and the laws of Congress passed under it, shall be," says the constitution, "the supreme law of the land."

Mr. BUTLER—"Made in pursuance of it."

Mr. WEBSTER—Very well; I suppose the custom-house laws are made in pursuance to the constitution. The honourable member does not deny that. If the constitution, because it is the supreme law of the land, goes to these territories, then the custom-house laws go with it. Under the same provision, the constitution shall be the law of the land. The laws also, of Congress, made in pursuance of the constitution, are the law of the land, and no legislation upon the subject is necessary. The gentleman's argument proves that the moment a territory is attached to the United States, all the laws of Congress, as well as the constitution of the United States, become the governing rule of men's conduct and the rights of men, because they are to be the law of the land. The laws of Congress are to be the supreme law of the land as well as the constitution. Sir, this is a course of reasoning that cannot be maintained. Suppose, sir, the Crown of Great Britain should make a conquest—and it has made many—who ever heard it contended that the constitution of England or the supreme power of Parliament, because it is the supreme law of the land, was extended over these colonies until extended by legislation? Why, sir, the whole history of the colonial conquests of England shows exactly the reverse to be the case. The right of government, until controlled by Parliament, exist only as a military power, to be enforced by military means, under executive authority, until it is subjected to the control of Parliament; then Parliament may make all laws which it deems necessary and proper to be made; but a colony never falls in one single instance under the general dominion of the existing English laws. Well, it is exactly the same strain of political events—it is exactly upon the basis of the same principles that a territory becoming the property of the United States, or coming to belong to the United States by acquisition or cession, remains, as we have no *jus coronæ* to be taken posession of in the first place by Congress, and then to be governed exactly as Congress may prescribe.

Mr CALHOUN—I will be very short, and I trust decisive. The Senator's first objection is, as I understand it, that I show no authority by which the constitution is extended to the territories. Well, sir, I ask the Senator if I did not inquire how did Congress get any power over the territories?

Mr. WEBSTER—By the grant of the constitution in so many words.

Mr. CALHOUN—Then that part is extended to the territory?

Mr. WEBSTER—To be sure it is; the power to make laws.

Mr. CALHOUN—Then that it is carried to the territory I have shown you by direct and specific authority. I will go one step further. How is it that the power of Congress goes further than the States? Everybody certainly knows that it is not through legislation at all. Where do you get your legislative power? How do you extend the authority of Congress to the territories, whose existence depends on the constitution? Can any man answer me? And yet the Senator said I assigned no reason for it. I assigned the strongest reason—that if the constitution does not extend there, you have no right to legislate there. Then, his next point is, that the constitution is confined to the States, and he was surprised to hear from me the rule I laid down upon the subject. He stated that the constitution of itself cannot execute itself: it requires the government. I never denied that that constitution could execute itself, within the limits of the constitution, within the government; but can it execute itself anywhere out of the government? It requires human agency to enforce it everywhere, as well as in the States. I say nothing as to that. Well, his next objection is, that all the provisions of the constitution do not extend by the constitution to the territories, and he mentions the case of the judges. He says judges are appointed for a term of years, and the constitution provides that judges of the supreme and inferior courts shall hold their tenure during good behaviour. He says that this proves that these judges do not come under the category of the constitution.

Mr. WEBSTER—So far as an appeal lies from them, they are inferior courts.

Mr. CALHOUN—So an appeal lies from the State courts; and many of the State courts do not hold their tenure for a term of years. Now, sir, whether the Congress of the United States has a right to fix the legal tenure of the judges of the territories or not, I do not pretend to say—it is a question unnecessary for me to decide. I do not say the whole constitution extends itself as far as we have possession of the territories. I do not say every part of the constitution, for no part of the constitution can extend itself, nor the laws themselves, beyond the cases for which they are provided. Now, undoubtedly, by far the greater portion of the constitution was intended to provide for the special legislation of the States composing the Union. But many provisions do extend to these territories. He says there is nothing in my argument declaring the constitution to be the supreme law of the land, because, under the same category, it would be necessary to establish a custom house in California. I believe all our custom house laws extend to that territory, and that we are as much bound to establish custom-houses there as in New York. We need no legislation for it any further than we need it in the districts of New York. We cannot establish a custom-house there without a special law. Now, I do not remember whether the Senator has made any other argument. I have noticed them all, I think. If I have not, I shall be very glad to be reminded of any other, for I listened attentively to his remarks. I do not need to make out a case. No, sir, the proposition that the constitution of the United States extends to the territories, as far as it can be applicable to them, is so clear to every one, that even the extraordinary talent of the Senator from Massachusetts himself (Mr. Webster) cannot gainsay it. I allow that there are many negative cases in the constitution. It says that Congress shall make no *ex post facto* law; it shall make no law to establish a nobility; and there are twenty other negatives in it. It shall have no power anywhere or whatever in these respects, it is admitted. And if all the negatives extend to the territory, why do not all the positive regulations go with them? Sir, I do not deem it necessary to dwell longer on the point. I should be happy to hear any explanation in regard to it.

Mr. WEBSTER—I will detain the Senate but a single moment, sir. The great question is this—the precise question is this:—Whether a territory, when it remains in a territorial state, is a part of the United States? I maintain that it is not; and there is not a stronger proof of what has been the idea of Government in that respect than that to which I alluded, and which has drawn the honourable Senator's attention. Now, let us see how that stands. The judicial power of the United States is declared by the constitution to be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as Congress shall, from time to time, ordain and establish. The whole judicial power of the United States, therefore, is in these courts; and the constitution declares that all the judges of these courts shall hold their offices during good behaviour. Well, then, the gentleman must admit that if the legislation of Congress heretofore has not been altogether in error, those territorial courts do not constitute a part of the judicial power of the United States—as they certainly do not; because the whole judicial power of the United States has to be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as Congress shall establish, and the judges of all those courts are to have have a life tenure in their offices. Well, we do not give such life tenure, and never did, to any territorial courts. That has gone upon the presumption and true idea, as I suppose, that the territories are not within and part of the United States, but are subject to their legislation. But where did they get this power? Why, I have stated that the constitution says it may make all needful rules and regulations respecting territories; and it is on that clause, and that clause only, that the legislation of Congress respecting territories has been conducted; because it is apparent, from all our history, that no other provision was intended for territorial Governments, inasmuch as it is highly probable—I think certain—that no acquisition of foreign territory was ever contemplated. And again, there is another remarkable instance. The honourable gentleman, and his friends who act with him on these subjects, hold that the power of internal improvements within the United States does not belong to Congress. They deny that we can pass such a law for internal improvements in any of the States of the Union. They all admit that the moment we go out of a State into a territory, we may make just such improvements as we choose. There is not a gentleman on that side of the chamber who has not, time and again, voted public money out of the public treasury for internal improvements out of the Union, and in territories; but does not that prove, that in the conception of gentlemen, they are not parts of the Union? Sir, there is no end to illustrations which may be brought up on this subject; history is full of them—history is uniform in its course. It began with the case of Louisiana. It went on after Florida became a part of the Union; and in all cases, under all circumstances, by every proceeding of Congress upon the subject, and by all judicature upon the subject, it has been held that the territories belonging to the United States were to be governed by a constitution of their own; and in the forming of that constitution the legislation of Congress was not necessarily bound to those principles which had bound it when it was exercised in passing laws for the United States themselves. But, sir, I take leave of the subject.

Mr. CALHOUN—Mr. President, a few words. First, as to the judiciary. It Congress has decided the judiciary of the territories to be a part of the judiciary under the United States, Congress has decided wrong. It may be that it is a part of the judiciary of the United States, though I do not think so.

Mr. WEBSTER (in his seat)—Nor I.

Mr. CALHOUN—Again, the honourable gentleman from Massachusetts says, that the territories are not of the United States. I had supposed that all the territories were a part of the United States. They are called so.

Mr. WEBSTER, (in his seat)—Never.

Mr. CALHOUN—At all events, they belong to the United States.

Mr. WEBSTER. (still in his seat)—That is another thing.—The colonies of England belong to England, but they are not a part of England.

Mr. CALHOUN—Whatever belongs to the United States, they have authority over, and England has authority over whatever belongs to her. We can have no authority over anything that does not belong to the United States, I care not in what light it may be placed. But, sir, as to the other point raised by the Senator—internal improvements. The Senator says there is not a member on this side of the chamber but what has voted to appropriate money out of the public treasury for internal improvements in the territories. I know that a very large portion of the gentlemen on this side have voted to appropriate money out of the public treasury for improvements in territories, upon the principle of ownership; that the land in the territories in which improvements are made has an increased value in proportion to the sums appropriated, and the appropriations have in every case been given in alternate sections. But many gentlemen here have even utterly denied our right to make them under that form. But that question comes under another category altogether. It comes under the category whether we have a right to appropriate funds out of the common treasury at all for internal improvements. Sir, I now repeat it, that the proposition that the constitution of the United States extends to the territories is so plain a one, and its opposite—I say it with all respect—is so absurb a one, that the strongest intellect cannot maintain it. And I repeat, that the gentlemen acknowledge, by implication, if not more than that, that the extension of the constitution of the United States to the territories would be a shield to the South upon the question in controversy between us and them. I hold it to be a most important concession.—It narrows the ground of controversy between us. We then cannot be deprived of our equal participation in those territories without being deprived of the advantages and rights which the constitution gives us.

The debate was continued by Mr. Dayton and Mr. Douglas till the hour of adjournment.

The *Tribune* reports the proceedings of both Houses on the last day of the session as follows:

SENATE---WASHINGTON, Saturday, March 3.

The Senate met at the usual hour.

REVENUE LAWS FOR CALIFORNIA

Mr. DIX reported the House bill, extending the revenue laws over California.

Mr. KING was opposed to the bill, at this time, and moved to lay it on the table. Agreed to.

GOLD COIN.

The bill providing for gold coins of one dollar and double eagles, was taken up and passed.

A Senate bill was passed for a settlement with disbursing officers during the late war. Considerable noise on the floor.

Mr. UNDERWOOD called the attention of the President to the confusion. The Senate was then called to order.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Committee of Conference was appointed on the Military Appropriation bill.

A joint resolution passed, allowing farther time to the Secretary of the Treasury to make out a report on the Public Lands.

Mr. HANNEGAN called up the bill fulfilling the 5th article of the Treaty with Mexico for running the boundary line. Amendments of the House confines the appointment of Commissioners of the Topographical Corps This would displease Messrs. Willer & Co. appointed by President Polk.

Mr. HANNEGAN moved that the Senate disagree to the amendment, on a motion of allowing the bill to be laid on the table. This secures Polk's appointment.

The bill for the relief of the Union Bank of Florida was passed.

Mr. BREESE introduced a resolution for the compilation and translation of Mexican laws existing in California 13th May, 1846. Passed.

The joint resolution changing proof in certain pension cases was passed.

The 17th rule was now suspended, so as to let bills go to the President

The House amendment to the Light House bill was passed. Adopted

CALIFORNIA.

Mr. DOUGLASS would make one more effort for California, and moved to take up the House bill for a Territorial Government, which bill includes the Proviso.

Mr. RUSK appealed to the Senate for the report of Conference on Mr. WALKER's amendment to the General Appropriation bill. If no compromise on that amendment could be agreed to, nothing could be done. All other efforts would be a useless waste of time.

Mr. DOUGLASS said all sorts of bills for California had been refused by the Senate; they had refused to take them up; he was determined to make a last effort for the people of that country. He asked for the ayes and noes on taking up the bill.

Mr. BUTLER, from press of business, could not attend to this bill in Committee.

Mr. HAMLIN denounced Walker's amendment as giving despotic power to the President. He hoped this bill would be taken up and passed.

Mr. BUTLER considered Walker's amendment as restricting the military power now held by the President.

The bill was taken up—Yeas 25, Nays 28

Messrs DICKINSON and DIX voted to take it up.

Mr. HANNEGAN was the only Northern man who voted against it.

THE CENSUS.

The House bill, requiring the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Home Department, and Postmaster General, to report to next Congress, the best plan of taking census, was next laid before the Senate, and the question was debated by Messrs. WESCOTT, JOHN DAVIS and KING.

Mr. KING could not see the connexion of the measure with the Home Department.

The Census bill was passed.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

The House bill was taken up, providing for a Home Department, to include the Bureau of Pensions. Indian Affairs, and Patent Office; the Secretary of said Department to be called the Secretary of the interior.

This bill was debated by Messrs. KING, CAMERON, BRIGHT JEFFERSON DAVIS, CALHOUN and FOOTE.

The bill was read by sections.

Mr. FOOTE appealed that the bill was important, for the correct ministration of the Executive Bureau.

The Committee of the Senate reported various amendments to the bill. One of them proposes to strike out the Commissioners of the Customs.

Mr. HUNTER was in favour of striking all this out. He said we wanted no such Commissioner.

Mr. JEFFERSON DAVIS was in favour of the provision, as it is recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. HUNTER said that there was no necessity for the office.

Mr. ALLEN opposed the creation of any more Cabinet officers, or any other officers. There are two things that never go backwards—new offices and increase of salaries. Unless we retrench, we shall never pay the national debt.

Mr. JEFFERSON DAVIS thought the Senator from Ohio need not be alarmed, the bill merely proposes a reorginsation of the division of Labours of the Department.

Mr. HUNTER was opposed to the bill. The two great sources of revenue were the customs, and the public lands, and there is no propriety in taking them from the head of the Treasury.

Mr. WEBSTER was in favour of the Home Department. Ever since the time of Monroe it had been recommended to the attention of Congress.

Mr. NILES made a strong appeal against this proposed extension of Executive patronage. This thing, patronage, never goes backward; but ever constant efforts are insufficient to stop its expansion.

Mr. MASON followed in a learned speech, showing, first, that there was no necessity for this interior Department; second, that it was the business of the Federal Government so to take care of exterior relations; thirdly, that the bill was the entering wedge to the small owning up of the separate independence of States by the overshadowing power of the Federal Government. After a powerful appeal against the bill, he moved that it be laid on the table. Lost—22 to 31.

Mr. CALHOUN then took the floor, as if the emergency of the case demanded a strong appeal against the bill; and he made such an appeal, adopting the opinion of the Senator of Virginia, that this Department for the interior looked to absorption of the power of the States.

Mr. FOOTE contended that with the developement of the power and resources of the country, and the increase of its population, the public business and the public officers must increase; hence the necessity for this Home Department. It was recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury, and there was every reason to suppose that he fairly understands all the necessities of the case.

Mr. ATHERTON asked to let the Senate recede from the Cherokees amendment of this twelve hundred thousand to the Indian bill.

While yet up, the Chair announced a recess till six o'clock, P. M.

EVENING SESSION.—The Home Department bill resumed. The galleries packed with people. It is almost impossible for reporters to get in or out.

Mr. HUNTER renewed his opposition to the bill in a very earnest appeal against its passage.

Mr. Atherton moved to lay it on the table, to take up a report of a Committee on Conference. Not agreed to.

Mr. Badger urged upon the Senate, if they wished the bill to passed, to reject all amendments.

Mr. Hannegan.—Does the Senator, then want to force upon General Taylor an Extra Session?

Mr. Webster.—No; we mean to pass this bill.

The motion to strike out the Commissioner of Customs was lost—19 to 33.

The question on the bill being taken up.

Mr. Mason moved to amend by striking out Secretary of the Interior and inserting Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. He strongly objected to the addition of another to the Cabinet. It contemplated an entire reorganization of the Government. It looks like the purpose of restoring the old federal system of swallowing up State rights.

The speech of Mr. Mason excited a good deal of spirit, calling up old party associates to defeat the bill. He spoke with unusual earnestness, and awakened some little alarm among the Whigs, just as they expected the bill was about to pass. The party which has been in a minority for forty years is now returning to power, and thus begin to absorb the powers of the State in a sort of Federal oligarchy.—This thing of a Home Department, after being defeated from the days of Alexander Hamilton, is now to succeed; but Senators on the other side cannot pass this measure without our assent.

[President Polk in the Capitol signing bill; his Cabinet on the floor below.]

Mr. Mason said that a dark cloud was hanging over this Capitol.

Mr. WEBSTER thought the physical sky was lowering, and had been rather wet several days; but the political sky was bright. ["Ha! ha!"] He earnestly appealed that this bill should be carried. It did not extend the federal powers one inch; it was nothing but a plain practical question.

Mr. JEFFERSON DAVIS also defended the bill, not as a Federal but as a Democratic measure; and for the framing of which the credit belonged to Secretary WALKER.

Mr. ALLEN, with a force of voice which actually startled the people in the galleries, urged upon the Democrats to abandon the Whigs on this bill, because no such thing as this could stand before the people.

Mr. BERRIEN hoped that the debate would close, and that the bill would be suffered to pass. We have but four hours of the session remaining.

Mr. DOWNS believed that Mr. ALLEN was not the man to question the Democracy of Secretary WALKER, the father of this measure. He was opposed to compromising anything until this bill was passed and let the responsibility rest with the minority.

Mr. Niles did not intend to make a speech. Let the bill pass. We, who oppose it, have done our duty. Let the majority take the responsibility. If this is the beginning of the new Administration, the end is close by.

Mr. Dickinson opposed the bill. One of its first results would be a huge department, with a new crop of a hundred office holders.

Mr. Mason's amendment, providing an assistant Secretary of the Treasury, instead of a new cabinet officer rejected—28 to 30.

The Home Department bill passed—31 to 25.

The President approved of the Minesota Bill.

Mr. Atherton reported no agreement in Committee on Mr. Walker's amendment to the Civil bill.

The Army and Navy bill was finally disposed of.

The Senate backed out from the Cherokee amendment to Indian bill.

Several private bills were then passed.

On motion of Mr. Dayton the bill for a branch Mint in New York was taken up.

Messrs. Badger and Sturgeon objected to its consideration, and, by rule, it fell to the ground. So ends the branch Mint.

Numerous private bills were passed.

The bill for the Mexican Treaty stipulations became a law.

The credentials of Soule, of Louisiana, and Cass of Michigan, were presented, and General Cass took the oath of office and his seat.

Mr. Hannegan, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, made a report recommending that the Senate concur in the House amendments to the bill providing a Board of Commissioners to adjust the Claims of our Citizens on Mexico, according to the Provisions of the Mexican Treaty. The Report was agreed to. It gives the appointment of the Commissioners to the new Administration.

The bill to extend the Passenger laws to vessels going to California and Oregon was considered and laid on the table.

Many private bills were passed.

At 25 minutes past 11 the Senate went into Executive Session, and the doors were re opened at 20 minutes before 12.

Mr. WEBSTER made some remarks on the importance of passing the General Appropriation bill, and contended that Congress could legally set till 12 o'clock on Sunday.

At five minutes past 12 a Message was received from the President, which was considered in Executive Session, and at half past 12 the doors were again opened.

The General Appropriation bill was received from the House with amendments.

Mr. WEBSTER moved that the Senate concur in the amendments.

Mr. HUNTER opposed.

Mr. FOOTE, in spite of earnest remonstrances, proceeded to make a speech.

Mr. MASON moved to strike out the section continuing the existing laws of California until July. Ruled out of order.

Various propositions were here made and voted down.

Mr. DAVIS, of Massachusetts, moved a Committee Conference with a view of purging the bill of every proposition in regard to California. Not entertained.

An exciting debate here took place, Messrs. CASS, TURNER, ALLEN, FOOTE and others contending that the XXXth Congress had legally expired.

Mr. CAMERON rose to a point of order during the discussion when Mr. HANGMAN FOOTE walked up and shook his fist in the face of the Pennsylvania Senator and struck him. They were then parted by Senator FITZGERALD and others.

At 4 o'clock, Mr. BRIGHT moved that the Senate recede from its original amendment, and thus get rid of the difficulties in the case.

Mr. WEBSTER contended that the only question in order was on concurring with the House.

An interesting debate followed on this point which continued for sometime, when Mr. ATHERTON moved that the Senate disagree with the House amendment, and recede from its own amendment.

Mr. WEBSTER having withdrawn his motion to concur with the House, the Chair ruled that the question then recurred on Mr. BRIGHT's motion to recede.

Mr. DOUGLASS earnestly appealed to the Senate to give California a Government.

At 10 minutes past 5 the Senate proceeded to vote on the motion of Mr. BRIGHT, with the following result—Yeas 38, Nays 7.

On motion of Mr. DIX, the Senate then took up the bill to extend the revenue laws over California.

Mr. FOOTE moved an amendment extending other general laws also; after some remarks by Mr. DAVIS, of Mississippi, FOOTE's amendment was rejected, and the bill passed.

A Committee was then appointed to inform the House that the Senate was ready to adjourn, and at a few minutes before seven this illustrious body closed its sittings for the XXXth Congress.

Gen. CASS took his seat at 12 o'clock at night.

President POLK was in the Capital all night engaged in signing bills.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The reading of the Journal was dispensed with.

KING'S BUST OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Mr. ASHMUN said it would be remembered that a year ago the House and the country were much affected by the death of a venerable member of the House. Private subscriptions had been raised for the purpose of having made a bust of the deceased to place in the Speaker's room in commemoration of the event. The bust was now complete and had been for two or three days past exhibited in the Library, every one acknowledging its general fidelity to the original. Before, however, it could be placed in the Speaker's room the action of the House was necessary, and as the subscription had fallen somewhat short of the expense, and the artist, Mr. KING, had been at some expense coming on to Washington to insure the safe conveyance of the bust, he offered a resolution authorizing the Clerk, under the direction of the Speaker, to place it in an appropriate position in the Speaker's room, and to pay to Mr. KING such amount as should in the judgment of the Speaker compensate Mr. K. for his trouble and expenses. the sum not to exceed $500.

Mr. G. W. JONES, of Tennessee, objected to the reception of the resolution.

Mr. ASHMUN, of Massachusetts, moved a suspension of the rules, to allow its introduction.

Mr. G. W. JONES called for the ayes and noes on the suspension of the rules.

Mr. GRINNELL, of Massachusetts, hoped his friend from Massachusetts (Mr. ASHMUN) would modify his resolution so as to strike out all the latter part of it relative to the appropriation. He would rather pay the sum out of his own pocket than have any division on it. He hoped therefore, Mr. A. would modify it, and he would pay the requisite amount out of his own pocket.

Mr. ASHMUN modified the resolution accordingly, saying that he did not think it very honourable to the House to allow an individual to bear the expense.

The Speaker was about to put the question on suspending the rules, viva voce, when

Mr. JONES said he had called for the ayes and noes. As but 12 gentlemen rose in the affirmative, the ayes and noes were not ordered.

The rules were then suspended by a viva voce vote.

Mr. JONES called for the ayes and noes on the passage of the resolution. They were ordered, and the vote announced—Ayes 125; Noes 14.

BRANCH MINT AT NEW YORK.

Mr. TALLMADGE, of New York, moved a suspension of the rules to discharge the Committee of the Whole from the consideration of the bill to establish a branch Mint at New York The rules were suspended by 94 to 31.

The question was on ordering the bill to be engrossed for a third reading.

Mr. BRODHEAD, of Pennsylvania, (the Pennsylvanians fluttering like wounded pigeons) moved to lay the bill on the table, which was lost by an overwhelming majority.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

Objection was made by Mr. BRODHEAD and two or three other Pennsylvanians to the third reading, because the bill was not engrossed.

Mr. DIXON, of Connecticut, moved to suspend the rules so as to act on the bill without waiting for its engrossment.—The motion was lost by 81 to 46, two-thirds not voting in favour of it.

NAVAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. VINTON from the Committee on Ways and Means reported the Senate amendments to the Naval Appropriation bill recommending a concurrence in some and a disagreement to others. It was referred to the Committee of the Whole.

He also reported the P. O Appropriation bill, with a recommendation to concur in the Senate amendment respecting the rates of foreign postage. The House concurred.

The House then resolved itself into Committee on the Naval Appropriation bill, concurred in the report of the Committee of Ways and Means, reported it to the House, and it was agreed to.

The House then resolved itself into Committee on the bill making appropriations for Light Houses, which was considered, amended and reported to the House, when it was passed.

MINESOTA.

The House proceeded to take up the Minesota Territorial bill, the Senate having disagreed to the House amendment that the bill should not go into effect until the 10th of March.

It was moved that the House recede from its amendment, on which the ayes and noes were ordered, and resulted, Ayes 105, Noes 70. So the House receded and President Polk may fill the offices with a majority of some sixteen in the Senate to confirm them.

The Senate sent back the Naval Appropriation bill, with a disagreement to the House amendments, and asking a conference, which was concured in by the House.

A resolution from the Senate to suspend the operation of the seventeenth joint rule, prohibiting bills being presented to the President for signature on the last day of the session. It was concurred in.

Sundry Senate bills were passed to a third reading.

By general consent the House proceeded to the business on the Speaker's table.

The bill to establish a Branch Mint at New York, and some other bills on their third reading, were passed.

DISTRICT SLAVE-TRADE.

The bill relative to abolishing the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia, being reached

Mr. WENTWORTH moved to pass it by informally as it was now too late to act upon it.

Mr. BRODHEAD of Pa. objected.

Mr. COCKE of Tenn. moved to lay it on the table.

The ayes and noes were called for, and ordered.

Mr. COCKE withdrew his motion.

Mr. TALLMADGE offered a resolution to suspend the 16th joint rule, so as to allow the Branch Mint bill and the others which had been passed upon, to be sent to the Senate.

Mr. BRODHEAD of Pa. objected.

A suspension of the rules was moved and carried, to allow the resolution to be introduced, and it was then adopted.

After several unsuccessful motions, the House went into Committee on the Private Calendar, to consider Senate bills, to which there was no objection. Several were read, reported to the House, and passed.

Many motions were made in quick succession.

An unsuccessful one to take up the bill making appropriation for the purchase of Catlin's Indian Gallery of Paintings, was the next business.

The confusion seems to be on the increase. The Speakers hammer falls impotently; and the Clerk, at the top of his voice endeavours to make himself heard.

In the House, after the recess, the Speaker announced that John F. Trowers, John Trenholm and Wm. M. Bell are severally the contractors for the printing of Congress.

The galleries are filled to overflowing—members good natured from just eating their dinners—chinking of money, the members having been paid off full.

The House concurred in the report of the Court of Conference of the disagreeing votes on the amendment to the Navy bill.

Mr. McDOWELL offered a resolution of thanks to the Speaker, for the able, impartial and dignified manner in which he had discharged his duties.

Mr. JOHNSON of Tenn. moved to amend by striking out the word impartial. He denied that the Speaker was so; he had frequently struggled for the floor, and when he did get it the Speaker turned up his nose. He had a better chance in Committee, where his impartial Majesty was not in the chair.

Mr. COBB was temporarily in the Speaker's seat.

Mr. JOHNSON spoke at length, finding fault with the partiality of the Speaker. He was called to order several times by Whigs, and encouraged to go on by Democrats. He referred to the constitution of the Committees, and said they were made up to suit Anti-Slavery. [Great excitement.]

Mr. HASKELL said that the head and front of the Abolition party was probably, the only one who would vote with his colleague.

Mr. GIDDINGS wanted to know by what authority Mr. Haskell has so expressed himself. [Laughter.]

Mr. HASKELL replied, common sense and induction led to the conclusion, because Mr. Giddings was the other one, besides Mr. Johnson, who thought Committees were not properly organized.

Mr. GIDDINGS said that Mr. Haskell was once deputed to be his executioner, but not to speak for him. [There was much laughter.]

The amendment to strike out was rejected—only 13 voting in favour, and the Resolution was agreed to.

THE NIGHT SESSION.

Mr. VINTON said that the Committee on Conference on the disagreeing amendments to the general Appropriation bill had been unable to agree, and asked to be discharged. The Senate had inserted an amendment, Walker's legislation for the territories, and the House rejected it, as was seen. Breakers ahead. Intense excitement.

Mr. ASHMUN said that if the House receded, the question will be an open one. There was much fluttering. Several motions were made, questions asked, and the vote taken on the House receding. It was decided in the affirmative, by a vote of 111 to 106. There was tremendous excitement; members jumping up.

Mr. MOREHEAD thought the matter could be settled by striking out from the Senate's amendment (Walker's) the words "west of the Rio Grande," and inserting nothing in that act that affected any way the boundary of Texas, and moved the previous question, which was sustained by a majority of 5.

The SPEAKER said, in reply to a question, that if the main question be not in order, the subject would go over until to-morrow. Farther explanations were made, and the Chair decided that the question was on the amendment of Mr. Morehead.

Mr. ASHMUN moved to lay the amendment on the table.

The SPEAKER said that if it be laid on the table that would carry the bill with it.

Mr. ASHMUN did not insist on his motion.

The question was then taken on Mr. Morehead's amendment and adopted—Ayes 186, Noes 20.

Several members immediately popped up from their seats. Points of order were piled one in another, and there was the greatest possible confusion and intense interest manifested in the galleries.

Mr. THOMPSON of Ind. appealed to the North and South to appease the excitement, and offered a compromise that the Constitution so far as applicable, be extended over the Territories. The existing laws to be exercised to persons, property and religion, and the President empowered to carry the laws into effect. The act to continue till February, 1850.

Points of order in thick succession were raised, and considerable squabbling ensued. A motion was made at 10½ o'clock, for call of House. It was decided in the negative. While the yeas and nays were being called there was so much confusion that the Clerk had to cease for a few moments. In the midst of the excitement.

Mr. BAYLY said that Mr. Root had come over to insult his colleague. Mr. Giddings was alluded to, who went over to Mr. Meade's seat, and struck him slightly.

Mr. BAYLY said that Mr. Root was a brute, and not a Root. Mr. Root passed off without farther notice.

Motions too numerous to mention were then made, and the question was ordered to be put on Mr. Thompson's amendment. It was agreed to by a majority of 6.

Mr. PETTIT then made a furious speech. He would rather have the bill referred, than see such amendments adopted. It was nefarious, he said, to stop the hands of the clock. He was not Joshua to control it. He was not willing to form a partnership with the slave-holding power—the leprous, putrid scab

He was here greeted with cries of "louder! louder!"

Mr. McCLERNAND rose to call Mr. Pettit to order.

The SPEAKER decided Mr. Pettit to be in order.

The decision was appealed from and reversed.

The question was then taken on the Senate's Territorial amendment to General Appropriation bill (Walker's) as amended by Mr. Thompson, was agreed to, Yeas 110, Nays 104. The amendment went back to the Senate.

The resolution for extra compensation to *employees* of the House passed, and other minor matters were disposed of.

About two o'clock (this morning, Sunday) the House was without a quorum. Several resolutions, private bills, &c. were then disposed of, when Mr. Johnson of Ark. reached at Mr. Ficklin of Ill. knocked him down and drew blood. A rush was made to part them. The Speaker called to order. There was a tremendous excitement, but the conflict was over in a minute. No bones broken. There was plenty of the ardent in the capitol, and in the midst of the whole, Mr. Ficklin was taken from the Hall.

THE PATENT MEDICINE BILL.

On motion, Mr. Edward's bill to prevent the patenting of medicines was taken up. He said it was to preserve the health of the people.

Mr. HALL of Mo. made a speech on praise of Sappington's fever and ague pills, and said "patent medicines" did ten times more good than regular prescriptions. No quorum vote taken on the engrossment of the bill. There was an end of it.

At 2 1-2 o'clock motion was made to adjourn *sine die*. Only 22 members voting in the affirmative.

Mr. KAUFMAN of Texas, moved that the House take up the bill to establish a government in New Mexico.

Mr. HOLMES of S. C. objected for want of power or time.

A motion was then made to adjourn, and

Mr. PETTIT said this was not a meeting of the House, but town meeting.

Another said it was a mob.

The SPEAKER told the gentlemen that they must not smoke cigars.

Mr. PETTIT said that his had no fire on it.

The greatest anxiety to adjourn was manifested, but the Speaker did not declare it was carried, even when a majority voted in its favour.

A message was sent to the Senate informing them that the House was ready to adjourn, and a Committee was appointed to wait on the President, and ask him whether he had any farther communication to make.

Somebody said that General Taylor was President now.

Almost everybody appeared to be in a chaotic state, or sleepy, the galleries were vacated, and the House took up the bill granting the right of way to the Illinois Railroad Company. It was generally alluded to.

Means were taken to renew the Appropriation bill, but the factionists were condemned, and Members said they would go down to everlasting infamy.

Mr. TURNER said he had acted consistently in voting against the Senate's amendment to provide for the Territories. The lords of the lash were the fractionists. The charge of traitor had no sting for him.

Messrs. HENLEY and LEVIN then spoke. Nothing done with the bill.

There was a long delay for the President to sign the General Appropriation bill, and to say whether he had any further communications to make.

The adjournment finally took place, *sine die*, at 6 3-4 o'clock. The Speaker delivered it and rushed out of the hall.

The *Tribune* gives the following report of the proceedings on Monday:

The doors of the Senate chamber were opened at 10 o'clock this morning, and the ladies' gallery was immediately filled with the fair sex. The reporters gallery was also crowded to suffocation; there was great struggling and pressing, and thousands were forced to leave without obtaining an entrance.

The Senate assembled at 11, and a resolution adopted that Senator ATCHISON take the Chair. The new members were then all sworn in with the exception of Gen. SHIELDS.

A resolution was adopted to refer Gen. SHIELDS' credentials to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Hon. MILLARD FILLMORE and GEORGE M. DALLAS then came in arm and arm.

Mr. ATCHISON administered the oath to Mr. FILLMORE who took the chair and delivered an eloquent address.

All the Justices of the Supreme Court and about 40 members of the Diplomatic corps, including the attachés, then came in; the first occupying 15 seats in the area, at the left of the Vice President, and the latter to the right.

Messrs. BUCHANAN, JOHNSON and TOUCEY, of the old Cabinet, came in and took seats in front of the Diplomatic corps.

A lady fainted in the gallery, but in the confusion which prevailed could not be got out. She however soon recovered.

It was now nearly 12 o'clock, and the President and Ex-President had not made their appearance. Considerable impatience was manifested until about half past 12, when the President and Ex-President came in and occupied seats with Messrs. GEORGE M. DALLAS and R. M. JOHNSON.

President TAYLOR entered into a brief conversation with Chief Justice TANEY and Judge McLEAN, and then proceeded to the eastern portico, where Chief Justice TANEY, of the Supreme Court, administered to him the oath of office, as follows:

Oath of Office.

"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Elected by the American people to the highest office known to our laws, I appear here to take the oath prescribed by the Constitution, and in compliance with a time-honoured custom to witness those who are now assembled.

The confidence and respect shown by my countrymen, in calling me to be the Chief Magistrate of a Republic, holding a high rank among the nations of the earth, have inspired me with feelings of the most profound gratitude, but when I reflect that the acceptance of the office which their partiality has bestowed, imposes the discharge of the most arduous duties, involves the most weighty obligations, I am conscious that the position which I have been called to fill, though sufficient to satisfy the loftiest ambition, is surrounded by fearful responsibilities.

Happily, however, in the performance of my new duties I shall not be without able coöperation. The Legislative and Judicial branches of the Government present prominent examples of distinguished and civil attainments and matured experience, and it shall be my endeavour to call to my assistance, in the Executive Departments, individuals whose talents, integrity and purity of character will furnish ample guarantees for the faithful and honourable performance of the trusts to be committed to their charge.

With such aids, and an honest purpose to do whatever is right, I hope to execute diligently, impartially, and for the best interests of the country, the manifold duties devolved upon me. In the discharge of these duties, my guide will be the Constitution I this day swear to preserve, protect and defend.

For the interpretation of that Government, I shall look to the Judicial tribunals established by its authority, and to the practice of Government under the earliest President, who had so large a space in its formation. To the example of those illustrious patriots I shall always refer with reverence, and especially to his example who was by so many titles the father of his country.

To command the Army and Navy of the United States—with the advice and counsel of the Senate to make treaties and to appoint Embassadors and other officers—to give to Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend such measures as he shall judge to be necessary, and to take care that the laws shall be faithfully executed—these are the most important functions entrusted to the President by the Constitution; and it may be expected that I shall briefly indicate the principles which will control me in their execution.

Chosen by the body of the people, under the assurance that my Administration could be devoted to the welfare of the country, and not to the support of any particular section or merely local interests, I this day renew the declaration I have heretofore made, and proclaim my fixed determination to maintain to the extent of my ability the Government in its original purity, and to adopt as the basis of my public policy, those great Republican doctrines which constitute the strength of our National existence.

In reference to the Army and Navy lately employed with so much distinction on active service, care shall be taken to ensure the highest condition of efficiency, and in furtherance of that object the Military and Naval Schools sustained by the liberality of Congress, shall receive the special attention of the Executive.

As American Freemen we cannot but sympathise with all efforts to extend the blessings of civil and political liberty, but at the same time we are warned by the admonitions of History and the voice of our own beloved Washington to abstain from entangling alliances with foreign nations. In all disputes between conflicting Governments, it is our interest not less than our duty to remain strictly neutral, while our geographical position, the genius of our institutions and people, the advancing spirit of civilization, and, above all, the dictates of religion direct us to the cultivation of friendly relations with all other powers.

It is to be hoped that no international questions can now arise which a government confident in its own strength, and resolved to protect its own just rights, may not settle by wise negotiation, and it eminently becomes a Government like our own, founded on the morality and intelligence of its citizens, and upheld by their affections, to exhaust every resort of honourable diplomacy before appealing to arms.

In the conduct of our Foreign relations, I shall conform to these views, as I believe them essential to the best interests and honour of the country.

The appointing power vested in the President imposes delicate and onerous duties. So far as it is possible to be informed, I shall make honesty, capability, and fidelity indispensable requisites to the disposal of office, and absence of either of these qualities shall be deemed sufficient cause for removal.

It shall be my study to recommend such constitutional measures to Congress as may be necessary and proper to social encouragement and protection to the great interests of Agriculture, Commerce and Manufactures, to improve our rivers and harbours, to provide for the speedy extinguishing of the public debt, to enforce a strict accountability on the part of all officers of the Government, and the utmost economy in all public expenditures, but it is for the wisdom of Congress itself, in which all legislative powers are vested by the Constitution, to regulate these and other matters of domestic policy, I shall look with confidence to the enlightened patriotism of that body to adopt such measures of conciliation as may harmonize conflicting interests and tend to perpetuate that Union, which should be the paramount object of our hopes and affections.

Any action calculated to promote any object so near the heart of any one who truly loves his country, I will zealously unite with the confederate branches of the Government.

In conclusion, I congratulate you, fellow citizens, upon the high state of prosperity to which the goodness of Divine Providence has conducted our common country.

Let us invoke a continuance of the same protecting care which has led us from small beginnings to the eminence to which we have this day arrived, and let us seek to deserve that by prudence and moderation in our councils by well-directed attempts to assuage the bitterness which too often marks differences of opinion; the promulgation and practice of just and liberal principles, and by enlarged patriotism which shall acknowledge no limits but those of our own wide Republic.

The President returned into the Capitol amid prolonged and vociferous cheering.

News Items.

Farge of Harbouring a Runaway.—Captain Roswald R.e risbee, of the steamboat Arkansas No. 4. was yesterday arrsted at the instance of a. f. w. c. named V. P. Daveau charged with concealing her slave Etienne, who has been absent from home two months, on board his steamboat, where Etienne was found by the complainant. The accused gave bail to appear for examination.—*N. O. Crescent.*

Meeting in Woodford, Ky.—The Pro-Slavery men of Woodford county held a meeting at the Court House, in Versailles, on the 5th inst. at which a preamble and resolutions were adopted, protesting strongly against any interference with the question of Slavery. After the adoption of resolutions, another resolution was offered by D. C. Humphreys, Esq. '*deprecating any movement designed to increase negro Slavery, or to make Slavery perpetual in Kentucky.*" This resolution was earnestly advocated by Hon. Thomas F. Marshall, and opposed by other speakers. Before any vote was taken on it, the meeting adjourned. The Pro-Slavery men were too shrewd to be caught by Mr. Humphrey's resolution, and therefore adjourned without voting on it. They are afraid to avow themselves in favour of making Slavery perpetual in Kentucky. If they were to take that ground, they would speedily be overwhelmed. It is only by asserting that they are in favour of postponing the question of Emancipation for the present merely, that they hope to succeed. We trust our friends throughout the State will press the Pro-Slavery men to make a show of their hands, in relation to the perpetuation of Slavery. There are but few, men in Kentucky that have the hardihood to assert that Slavery is a blessing, and to assume the ground that it ought to be perpetual. The issue at present is really between gradual emancipation and the perpetuation of Slavery, however Pro-Slavery men may talk to the contrary.—*Examiner.*

Married.

In Cooperstown, N. Y. 8th ultimo, HENRY FREDERICK PHINNEY and CAROLINE MARTHA, daughter of James Fennimore Cooper.

In St. Jago, Chile, about 28th December, by the Chaplain of the U. S. ship Independence, Mr. BARTON, U. S. Charge to Chile to a lady of the country.

In Glasgow, January 25. Captain WALTER J. C. LANG, Commander of Steamship Britannia, to CHARLOTTE SUSANNAH, daughter of John McNeil, Esq. of Ardnaeross.

Notices.

CONNECTICUT.

The *Windham County Anti-Slavery Society* will hold a meeting at BROOKLYN, on FRIDAY, March 16, at 10 o'clock, A. M. The members are requested to give a full and punctual attendance.

PARKER PILLSBURY, LUCY STONE, and other able advocates of the Anti-Slavery cause are expected to be present.

JAMES B. WHITCOMB, Pres.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AND LECTURES.

CONNECTICUT.

PARKER PILLSBURY, on behalf of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, will lecture as follows:

Willimantic,	Saturday evening,	March	10.
"	Sunday,	"	"	11.
Hampton,	Monday,	"	"	12.
Canterbury,	Tuesday,	"	"	13.
Danielsonville,	Wednesday,	"	"	14.

And a CONVENTION will be held in *Brooklyn*, Connecticut, commencing on Thursday, March 15, and continuing on Friday, in connexion with the meeting of the Windham county Anti-Slavery Society.

It is expected that PARKER PILLSBURY, LUCY STONE and others will attend.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE LIBERATOR.

IT is well known to all interested in Reforms that a paper cannot, while the uncompromising advocate of an unpopular cause, subsist on its subscription list. If the Liberator has been, during the last few years, in any sense or to any degree an exception to this rule, it has r from the indirect aid received from the Massachusetts Society in New England, from an excess of saving which is hardly true economy, from avoiding many expenses which would add much to its usefulness, and from pressing into its service a great amount of unpaid labour.

When in spite of all this, it has been obliged to look to its friends for aid, the weight has, from various causes, fallen on very few shoulders. I believe you would not that this should continue so to be. The plan suggested by the Financial Committee seems exactly adapted to remedy it, to secure such receipts as will relieve it from the necessity of a crippling economy, and from pecuniary embarrassment. Experience has shown that it will not do to raise the price generally. The Committee recommend that those who call themselves *its friends*, and value it as it deserves, appreciating the benefit they have derived from it, should pay *five dollars*, instead of *two*, for the copy they take for their own use, leaving them free, of course, to distribute as many copies as they choose at the usual price.

Could a hundred names be subscribed to such a plan, and surely that is a small number, we should receive $300 more than usual; and with this slight addition, the income would fairly cover the expenses of the paper; and the weight would rest, as it should, on the shoulders of many, instead of leaving some half dozen to make up such sums, when necessary. I deem it a reflection on those whom I am addressing, to suppose it necessary to say more.

Any one disposed to co-operate with us in this plan will please send his name, *immediately*, to R. F. Wallcut, 21 Cornhill, Boston; or give it to some agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, *as soon as possible*.

In behalf of the Committee,

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Boston, Feb. 10th, 1849.

Advertisments.

BRITISH PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

REPUBLICATION OF
The London Quarterly Review,
The Edinburgh Review,
The North British Review,
The Westminster Review,
and
Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.

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They embrace the views of the three great parties in England—Tory, Whig, and Radical—"Blackwood" and the "London Quarterly" are Tory; the "Edinburgh Review" Whig; and the "Westminster Review" Radical. The "North British Review" is more of a religious character, having been originally edited by Dr. Chalmers, and now, since his death, being conducted by his son-in-law, Dr. Hanna, associated with Sir David Brewster. Its literary character is of the very highest order. The "Westminster" though *reprinted* under that title only, is published in England under the title of the "Foreign Quarterly and Westminster," it being in fact a union of the two Reviews formerly published and reprinted under separate titles. It has, therefore, the advantage by this combination of uniting in one work the best features of both as heretofore issued.

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10th mo.19.

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Pearl	7.25 a —.—
BEESWAX.	
Duty: 20 per cent. ad val.	
Cuba, white per lb	—.— a —.—
American, yellow,	—. 21 a —.22
BRISTLES.	
Duty, 5 per cent ad val.	
St.Pet'sbg, 1st sort lb.	.90 a 1.00
do. 2d sort	.35 a .—
Okatka, gray&white	1.37 a 2.50
Souchoy	— a .60
American	30 a 40.
COAL.	
Duty, 30 per cent. ad val.	
Liverpool, Orrel. chal	8 00 a 8.50
Newcastle, coarse	6.75 a 7.—
Scotch	6.26 a .—
Sidney and Picton	5.50 a 5.75
Anthracite, 2,000lbs	5.— a .6—
DOMESTICS.	
Shirtings, brown 3-4 yd	3½ a 4½
do. do. 7-8	— a —
do. bleached	4½ a 5
do. S. I. do.	7 a 9
Sheetings, brown 4-4	6 a 9½
do. do. 5-4	10 a 12
do. bleached 4-4	7½ a 10
do. do. 5-4	12 a 15
Calicoes, blue	8 a 10
do. fancy	6 a 12
Plaids	9 a 11
Kentucky jeans,	15 a 30
Satinetts	35 a 60
Checks 4-4	7 a 10
Cotton Osna. S. No. 1	7½ a 8½
do. No. 2	— a 7½
Cotton yarn, 5 a 13	— a 14
do. 14 a 19	17 a 19
do. 20 a 23	— a 19
FLOUR & MEAL.	
Duty, 20 per cent ad val.	
Genesee per bbl.	6.— a 6.12½
Michigan	5.50 a 5.56¼
Ohio, new	5.50 a 5.56¼
Ohio round hoop	—.— a —.—
Ohio via, Canal	—.— a —.—
Pennsylvania	—.— a .—
Brandywine	5.62½ a —
Georgetown	5.37½ a 5.50
Baltimore c. mills	5.50½ a .—
Richmond c. mills	6.25 a 7.25
do. country	5.50 a .—
Alexandria	5.37½ a 5.50
Fredericksburg	5.37½ a 5.50
Petersburg	5.56¼ a 5.66½
Rye flour	3.37½ a 3.50
Cornmeal, Jersey	2.75 a .3—
do. hhd.	—.— a —.—
FISH	
Duty, 20 per cent ad val.	
Dry cod, cwt.	2.25 a 2.37½
Dry scale	1.25 a 1.50
Pickled cod, bbl.	3.— a 3.25
do. salmon, tce	15.25 a —.75
Smoked do. lb	— a —
Mackerel, 1, bbl.	9.— a 9.25
do. No. 1 small	.— a .—
do. No. 2	.— a 5.75
do do. North	.— a —.—
do. No. 3 South	3.62 a 3.87
do. do. North	3.75 a 3.87½
Shad, N 1 Ct. hf. bbl.	.— a 7.00
do. No. 2	—.— a 6.00
Bucksp't. bbl.	.— a —.—
Mass. do.	—.— a —.—
Southern	.— a .—
Herring, pickled	.— a 3.25
do. scale, per box,	— a 35
do. No. 1	— a 28
do. No. 2	— a 25
GRAIN.	
Duty, 20 per cent. ad val.	
Wheat, white bush	1.34 a 1.35
do Western	1.20 a 1.25
do. Southern	1.05 a 1.15
Rye northern	.65 a .66
Corn north'n & Jer	62 a 63.
do south'n (weight)	61 a .62
do N O & West'n	— a —
Barley, Western,	64 a .65
Oats, northern	40 a .42
do. southern	— a .—
do. New-Jersey	32 a 34
Peas, White,	.87½ a 1.00
Black ed, bushel	1.37½ a 1.40

FLAX	
Duty: 15 per cent. ad val.	
Russia per lb.	a —
American	9 a —
FEATHERS	
Duty: 25 per cent. ad val.	
Foreign per lb.	— a —
Foreign A. A.	— a —
Live, American	34 a 37½
HAY—Per 100 lbs.	
North River in bales	56 a 56½
HOPS	
Duty, 20 per cent. ad val.	
First sort 1847, lb.	4 a 4½
LEATHER. [Sole]	
Duty, 20 per cent. ad val.	
Oak per lb.	18 a 20
Oak Ohio,	19 a 21
Hemlock, light	16 a 16½
do. middle	16 a 16½
do. heavy,	14 a 15
do. damaged	13 a 14
do. poor do.	8 a 10
LIME	
Thomaston per bbl	—. a .95
LUMBER	
Duty: Timber and firewood, 20 boards, timber, &c. shaped for use, 30; do rough, 20 per ct ad val. Yard selling prices	
Timber w. pine pr. c. ft.	18 a 22
do. east'n scant or beams prM. ft.	13.5 7a 15.25
do oak, cu. ft.	.22 a 25
do. Gr. Isl. W. O.	—25 a 28
do. O. scnt. pr. M. ft.	25 a 30
do. Ga. yel. pine (by cargo) per cub. ft.	—22 a 25
Plank Ga. yel. pine pr M foot	—.25 a 30—
Boards N. R. M. ft. cl.	—.30 a 35.—
do. 2d ql.	22.50 a 25.
do. Box	3.59 a .15
Albany, piece	12 a .18
Plank Alb. pine	[illegible]
Laths E. by car.	1.25 a .—
Shingles bh. 18 in.	1.62½ a 2.—
do. Ced. 3ft. 1st ql.	25.— a —.30
do. do. 2d ql.	24.— a 28.—
do. 2ft. 1st ql.	17.— a 22.—
do. do. 2d ql.	16.— a 19.—
do. Cyprus 2d ql.	15.— a 16.—
Heading W. O. pr. M.	50.— a —.55
Staves W. O. pipe	60.— a 65.—
do. do. hhd.	47.— a —.48
do. do. bbl.	30.— a —.33
do. R. O. hhd.	25.— a 39.—
PROVISIONS.	
Duty: Cheese 30; all other 20 per cent. ad val.	
Beef, mess per bbl.	11.50 a 12.50
do. prime	7.00 a 8.25
Pork, mess, Ohio	—.— a . —
do. prime new	—. a —.—
Lard	6½ a 7.
Hams, smoked	4½ a 10.½
Shoulders, smoked	7½ a —.7½
Beef do.	10½ a 11.—
Butter, Orange co.	20 a .22
do. West'n dairy	16 a —.18½
do. common	— a —
Cheese	6½ a —. 7
SEEDS.	
Duty: flaxseed, clover, and timothy, 20 per cent. ad val.	
Clover, per lb.	—.6½ a —.7½
Timothy, 7 busn.	21.— a 22.—
Flax, rough	1.— a [illegible]
do. clean	1.25 a —.—
TALLOW.	
Duty: tallow, grease, & soap stuff 10 per cent. ad val.	
Rendered	8 a 8½
WOOL.	
Duty, 30 per cent. ad val.	
Am. Sax'ny. fleece lb.	40 a 43
Am. full blood Merino	34 a 36
Am. ½ & ¾ Merino	32 a 34
Am. native & ¼ do.	30 a 31
Superfine, pulled, ctry.	32 a 35
do. do city	28 a 30
No. 1, pulled, country,	28 a 29
do. city	26 a 27
South Am. washed	11 a 13
do. do. & picked	18 a 20
do. unwashed	5 a 7
Africa	5 a 7
Smyrna,	10 a 13
Mexican,	10 a 11

Confidences.

TO A———.

BY ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE.

Translated for the Standard from the (Paris) Presse.

CHAP. I.

You would fain became acquainted with the first half of my life! because you love me, but love me only in the present and in the future. The past eludes your observation, a part of me has been snatched from you and it must be restored. For me it will be sometimes sweet, though sometimes sad, to go back with, and for you alone, to the living and hidden springs of my existence, of my thoughts and feelings. When the stream is troubled and exhausted, and its waves, already tumultuous and bitter, flow only over sterile sands before losing themselves in the ocean, who would not love to reäscend, wave by wave, valley by valley, its long and winding course, to gaze upon its first waters, springing from the rocks, or hidden beneath the foliage, pure as the snows from which they flow, clear and blue as the mountain sky which they reflect? What you request, will be at once refreshing to my own soul, and satisfactory to the tender interest which you feel for me! I have reached that uncertain point of human life, when, in the midst of the gems which God grants to the most favoured men, we are suspended, as it were, for a moment between the two parts of existence, uncertain whether we still climb, or have already begun to descend.

If we continue to feel an interest in ourselves, or to excite it in others, it is well as we look backward through the shadows which darken around us, and dispute our knowledge of places, times, and persons, to pause for a moment and recall the gentle memories which night is about to efface, and whose existence we would renew in the heart of another, as they must live forever in our own.

But when I would begin to open to you my sealed and folded recollections, waves of tenderness, grief, and melancholy overflow my heart, and my voice is stifled with the sobs of my past life. They slept, but they were not dead; perhaps I have done wrong to disturb them, perhaps I shall be unable to go on. Silence is the shroud of the past, it is often impious, sometimes dangerous, to raise it; even when it is piously and lovingly lifted, the first moment is cruel.

Have you ever experienced one of these terrible trials of life? They have come twice to me, and I never think of them without a shudder.

Death has snatched from you suddenly, and in your absence, one whose life was a part of your own, a mother, a child, a beloved wife. Recalled by the fatal news, you arrive before the earth has received the sacred remains of one who sleeps forever.—You cross the threshold, you ascend the stairs, you enter the chamber, you are alone with God and death. You kneel near the bed, with arms extended and brow pressed against the curtains of of the funeral couch. You rise at length and pace the room with slow or hasty step. By turns you approach and quit the bed whose white drapery falling upon a motionless body, reveals the outlined form of one whom you shall see no more forever. A terrible doubt seizes you; the face I have so adored may be still uncovered. I can see it once more. Shall I see it, as death has made it? or shall I kiss unseen that shrouded forehead, that I may be able to recall it hereafter with the colouring, the aspect and the expression of life? Which course will best console the living and honour the dead? Insoluble Problem! Too often stated and differently resolved! As to myself, however, I may have hesitated, instinct has always prevailed over reason. I have wished to look again upon the dead. I have done so, and the tender piety of the remembrance which I wished to impress upon my mind, has not been effected by that last look; but the memory of the animated and living features, mingled with that of the motionless and marble countenance of death, fixes in my soul on the faces which its tenderness preserves, something palpitating like life, and immutable like immortality.

I experience something of this feeling of hesitation in reöpening for you the sealed volume of my memory. Under the veil of forgetfulness lies my dead youth!

Painful regrets as well as images of delight will reäwaken with it. No matter. You request, I obey. To what gentler or more pious hands could I commit for preservation the cold ashes of what was once my heart?

CHAP. II.

Ah! how often I have regretted the day of my birth. How often have I wished to sink into annihilation, instead of advancing through so much falsehood and suffering, and many successive losses towards that final one of ourselves, which we call death. Nevertheless, even in those moments of terrible depression, when despair triumphs over reason, and we forget that the burden of existence is but imposed upon us that we may perfect our own natures, I have always said, there is something that I would not but have known—the tenderness of a mother, the affection of a father, the fraternal tie uniting hearts and souls; family tenderness, family joys, and even family sorrows! The family! our second self—greater than ourselves, existing before us, and perpetuating what is best in us.—Clinging to each other, this little group is the incarnation of the holy and loving union of spirits, made visible by sentiment. I have often thought that it would be desirable to extend the family. But to destroy it would be a blasphemy against nature and a sin against the human heart. What would become of all those affections which are born and have their abode beneath the paternal roof? Life would be without a source, uncertain whence it came and whither it tended. All the affections of the soul would become mere abstractions of the intellect. It is the greatest work of God, to have ordered that those laws which are the grand conservators of the race, should constitute at the same time the happiness of the individual. In so far as we do not love we do not understand.

Happy is he who is born in a good and pious family. It is the first blessing of destiny. And when I say a good family, I do not mean by the expression, a family ennobled by man, or whose honours are registered upon parchment. There is nobility in all conditions of life. I have known families of labourers, in which that purity of sentiment, that chivalric probity, that perfection of delicacy, that legitimacy of tradition, which we call nobility, were as visible in act, feature, language, and manner, as they ever were in the loftiest line of monarchs.

Nature has her nobility as well as society, and it is the best. It matters little where or how, in street or field, rises the domestic altar, provided it be the refuge of the piety, the integrity, and the affections, of the family which surround it. The predestination of the child is the house in which it is born. Its early impressions constitute its character. The expression of a mother's eyes, penetrating through our own, becomes a part of our souls. Who can recall this look, in reverie or dream, without being conscious of a presence in the mind which calms its agitation, consoles its trouble, and illuminates its tranquility? I was so happy as to be born in one of those chosen families, which are like a holy sanctuary where we breathe only the fragrance which successive generations have scattered as they successively traversed it.

A family undistinguished, but stainless, placed by Providence in one of those intermediate ranks of society where we belong (at the same time) to the nobility by name, and to the people by narrowness of fortune, by simplicity of manners, and by a country life, in the midst of peasants, having the same habits and nearly the same occupation.

If I were to re-commence my existence on the earth, it is thus that I would be born. In order to see and comprehend the different conditions of humanity it is best to be placed half way between its extremes, not high enough to excite envy, nor low enough to provoke contempt; the exact position where that elevation of ideas, which the elevation of the point of sight produces, the simplicity of feeling, which familiarity with nature preserves, meet and unite in the human character.

CHAP. III.

Some leagues above Lyons, in ascending the Saône rises among villages and meadows, on the declivity of a hill slightly elevated above the plain, in the small but pleasant town of Mâçon. Two gothic towers decapitated by the revolution, and undermined by time, attract the eye and the thoughts of the traveller, bound for Provence or Italy, in the steam-boats by which the river is constantly plied. Above the ruins of the cathedral, extend for half a league, long lines of white houses and wharves where the merchandise of the south of France, and the products of the Mâçon vineyards are received or shipped. The upper part of the town, which is not seen from the river, is abandoned to silence and repose. One would think it a Spanish town. The grass grows in the summer between the paving stones, and the high walls of the old convents darken the narrow streets. Here may be seen a college, a hospital, some churches—a few restored, others falling into decay and serving as coopers' warehouses; a large square, planted with lindens on each side, where, on fine days, children play, and old men sit in the sunshine; long suburbs of low houses which extend to the opening of the great roads on the summit of the hill; some pretty houses, one side of which overlooks the town, while the other is already in the green open country; and not far distant five or six mansions, generally shut up, but in which the old families of the province assemble during the winter. Here was once the abode of the nobility and the clergy;—here still dwell the magistracy and the proprietors. It is the same everywhere. The labourer leaves the heights and only returns to them when easy circumstances enable him to seek repose and quiet.

At one of the angles of the square, which was a rampart before the revolution, and still preserves the name, stands a high and spacious house, seldom pierced with windows, whose high and massive walls disfigured by sun and rain, have been secured for more than a century by strong bolts of iron. A gate, wide and high, reached by a flight of steps, opens into a long vestibule, at the end of which a heavy stone staircase, lighted by an immense window, ascends from story to story, and conducts to large and numerous apartments. In this house I was born.

CHBP. IV.

My grandfather was still living. He was a gentleman of the old school, who had served many years in the armies of Louis XIV and Louis XV. and had received the cross of St. Louis at the battle of Fontenoy. He returned to the province with the rank of captain of cavalry, and brought with him those tastes for elegance, splendour, and pleasure usually acquired in courts and camps. In his own country he possessed a fine fortune, and he had married a wealthy heiress of Frunche-Comté, who brought as her dowry valuable lands and large forests in the neighbourhood of St. Claude, and in the passes of the Jura, not far from Geneva. He had six children, three sons and three daughters. In accordance with the ideas of his times, the family fortune was devised to the eldest son; the second was compelled to enter the church, for which he had no vocation. Two of the daughters were placed in convents, the third was a cannoness and had taken the vows. My father was the youngest of this numerous family. At the age of sixteen he had been placed in the same regiment in which his father had served before him.

He was never to marry—this was a regulation of the times. He was to grow old in the modest rank of a cavalry captain, which he attained at an early age, to visit occasionally on a furlough, his paternal halls, and to gain at length the cross of St. Louis—that chief aim of the ambition of provincial gentlemen. Then, in old age, provided with a small pension from the King, and an inheritance smaller still, he was to vegetate in an upper chamber of some old château of his elder brother, to oversee the garden, hunt with the curé, see to the horses, play backgammon or chess with the neighbours, sport with the children, be agreeable to everybody; a domestic slave, happy in his servitude, beloved but neglected by all, leading thus his unnoticed life, without wealth, or wife, or child, until age and infirmity should relegate him from the Salon to the lonely chamber on whose unfurnished walls hung his old sword and casque; and it should be said one day in the château, "The chevalier is dead."

My father was the Chevalier de Lamartine, and this was the fate reserved for him. Unpretending and respectful in his character he would have accepted it without a murmur but not without a sigh.

An unexpected circumstance changed all the arrangements of fate. His eldest brother became an invalid, and being advised to remain unmarried himself, he said to his father, "We must marry the chevalier." This disturbed all the old gentleman's habits of thought and feeling. Chevaliers were not born to be married!

My father was left with his regiment, and they adjourned the difficulty from year to year. The proposition was above all revolting to my grandmother. Marry the chevalier! it was monstrous!—On the other hand, it was a crime against blood to permit the humble race and the obscure name to become extinct. It was necessary to decide—still, however, they hesitated, and the revolution approached.

CHAP. V.

There was at this period in France, and there still exists in Germany, an institution at once religious and worldly—the mere mention of which, at the present time creates a smile, so closely allied were religion and the world—in severe but charming contrast. I will explain the nature of this institution called a Chapter of Noble Cannonesses.

The wealthy and noble families of the kingdom were accustomed to send to these Chapters such of their daughters as were indisposed to a conventual life, when unable to afford them a sufficient dowry to enable them to marry.

The Chapter was usually well situated in the neighbourhood of some large town, whose proximity might cheer this species of uncloistered convent. A small portion was given to each of these young persons, and a pretty house was built for each, surrounded by a small garden. These houses were built according to a uniform plan, and were grouped round the chapel of the Chapter. Independent cloisters as it were—ranged side by side whose gates stood half-open to the world, a sort of imperfect secularisation of the religious orders, of the olden time; an elegant and gentle transition between the church and the world. The inmates were received at fourteen or fifteen. They lived at first under the gentle surveillance of the older and professed cannonesses to whom their families respectively confided them. When they were twenty they took the direction of their own houses, and associating some of their young friends with themselves they lived in little groups of two or three.

They seldom lived in the Chapter except during the fine season. In the winter they returned to the neighbouring towns to resume their places in the salons of their mothers and to pass an agreeable vacation in the bosom of their families.

During the period of their residence in the Chapter, they were restrained in no respect. They were required, indeed, to go twice a day to sing the office in the church, but the slightest pretext sufficed to exempt them from this duty. In the evening they collected around the abbess, or at one of their respective houses for play, conversation, or reading, with no other regulation than their own taste and no other restraint than the indulgent guardianship of some old cannoness. They were expected to return at certain hours. Men were *said* to be excluded from these reünions, but there was an exception that made all easy. The young cannonesses were all permitted to receive their *brothers* for a certain number of days, and they might also present them to their friends in the assemblies of the Chapter. Thus tender attachments were naturally formed between the young officers who came to spend a few days of a furlough with their sisters, and their sister's young friends.

Occasionally some gossiping or an elopement occurred in the Chapter; but generally a careful reserve, an irreproachable propriety presided over these delicate relations, and mutual sentiments of regard kept alive by annual visits to the Chapter, led sometimes at a later period to marriages of inclination, so unusual at this period in French society.

CHAP. VI.

One of my father's sisters was a cannoness in the Chapter of Beaujolais on the banks of the Saône between Lyons and Mâçon. She had taken the vows at twenty-one. She had a house there, that my grandfather had built for her, and she had with her a charming young friend of sixteen, who had just entered the Chapter. My father in visiting his sister at Salles (the name of the village) was much struck by the charms of person and mind and the almost angelic character of her young companion.

The young recluse and the gallant officer loved each other. My father's sister, was the natural confidant of their mutual affection. She favoured it, and after many years of constancy, many obstacles surmounted and much family opposition vanquished, that destiny whose most powerful minister is always love, was accomplished, and my father married his sister's friend.

CHAP. VII.

My mother's name was Alix des Roys. She was the daughter of M. des Roys, Intendent General des Finances to the duke of Orleans. His wife, Madame des Roys, was under governess to the children of that Prince, and a favourite of that beautiful and virtuous Duchess of Orleans whom the revolution itself respected, even while it banished her from the palace, sent her sons into exile, and her husband to the scaffold.

M. and Madame des Roys had apartments in the winter at the Palais Royal, and in summer at St. Cloud. My mother was born there. She was brought up with King Louis Philippe in the respectful familiarity, always established between children of nearly the same age, whose lessons and sports are in common.

How many times has my mother described to us the education of that prince, whom one revolution had exiled from his country, and whom another was to place upon a throne! There is not a fountain, an alley, or a green slope in the gardens of St. Cloud, that her descriptions had not made perfectly familiar to us, long before we had seen them ourselves. St. Cloud was her Milly, her cradle, the spot where her first thoughts had budded and blossomed. They grew up and gained strength and maturity with the plants of that beautiful park.—The most renowned names of the eighteenth century were the first that were stamped upon her memory.

Madame des Roys was a lady of great merit, her position in the family of the first prince of the blood, attracted and grouped around her many of the celebrated personages of the age. Voltaire on his short and final visit to Paris, which was indeed a triumph, came to see the young princess. My mother, then but seven years old was present, and even at that early age she knew well by the impression made upon all around, that she saw something much more than a king.

Voltaire's attitudes, his dress, his cane, his gestures and words, remained engraved upon that childish memory, like the impressions of ante-diluvian remains in mountain rocks.

D'Alembert, Laclos, Madame de Genlis, Buffons Florian, the English historian—Gibbon, Grimm, Morellet, M. Neckar—the statesmen, the men of letters and the Philosophers of the age, such were all included in the society of Madame des Roys. She was besides in intimate relations with the most illustrious of all—J. J. Rousseau. My mother however pious and resigned to the inflexible dogmas of Catholicism, always preserevd a tender admiration for this great man. Doubtless because there was in him something more than genius—soul. Hers was not the religion of his genius, but it was that of his heart!

CHAP. VIII.

The Duke of Orleans, who was also Count Beaujolais, had the nomination of a certain number of ladies to the Chapter of Salles, which belonged to his duchy. In this way, it happened that my mother was nominated at the age of fifteen or sixteen. I have her portrait painted at that time, besides the pictures which all her sisters and my father himself, have so often sketched from memory. She is represented in her costume of cannoness, with a tall, slight and graceful form, and white and beautiful arms, covered however, to the elbow by the narrow sleeves of her black robe. On her bosom rests the small golden cross of the Chapter; over her head floats a veil of lace, less black than her hair. The youthful and unadorned figure gleams brightly amidst its dark drapery.

Time has dimmed the freshness of the colouring, but the features are as clear as if the painter's pencil were not yet dried upon his palette. There still lives that smile of the inner soul, that inexhaustible tenderness of heart, of look, of word, and more than all, that serene ray of the inward light of reason, that caressing expression, so full of sensibility; which flowed forever from eyes somewhat deeply set, and slightly veiled by the lids, as if she feared to dazzle should she reveal at once all the light and all the love which lived within. One needs only to see this portrait to understand the passion with which such a woman could inspire my father, or the filial love with which, at a later period, her children regarded her.

My father was at that period well fitted by his appearance and character to win the heart of a tender and courageous woman. He was no longer young; he was thirty-eight. But for a man of a strong race who was to live young in mind and body until ninety, preserving his teeth and hair still perfect, and wearing to the last the serene and imposing beauty that suits old age so well, thirty-eight was the spring of life. He was tall, with a military air, and manly and commanding features, expressive at once of frankness and gentle dignity. He affected neither grace nor gaiety, though there was much of both in his character. Really full of emotion, he appeared externally cold and indifferent, because he distrusted himself and was unwilling to give expression to his sensibility.

No man ever thought less of his own claims to consideration, or concealed beneath a more feminine diffidence, the severe perfections of a heroic nature. For many years I did not understand him. I believed him hard and austere; he was only just and exact. His tastes were primitive like his soul; his character was patriarchal and military. In his furloughs passed in the province, his time was devoted to hunting and shooting, during the remainder of the year his regiment, his arms, his horse, the regulations of the service scrupulously obeyed, and ennobled by the enthusiasm of a soldier's life, constituted his principal employments.

He looked for nothing beyond his rank of captain of cavalry, and the esteem of his comrades. His regiment was more to him than his family. Its honour was his own, he knew by heart the names of all the officers and soldiers belonging to it, and he was adored by all. He lived in the present, without ambition either of fortune or of higher rank.

His *ideal* was to remain in that condition, with honour for his conscience, and the service of the king for his religion; to pass six months of the year in some garrison town, and the remainder in a small country house of his own, with a wife and children. Such was my father, the primitive man, slightly modified by the soldier.

The Revolution, misfortune, years and thought, modified and completed his character in advanced life. I have, myself, observed his free and noble nature continue to develope after he was seventy years old. His nature was that of those oaks which continue to renew their strength to the time when the axe is laid to the root of the tree.

At eighty he was still in a state of progress.

CHAP. IX.

I have already adverted to the obstacles of fortune and the family prejudice, which opposed my father's marriage. His constancy, and that of my mother surmounted them all. They were married at the very moment in which the Revolution came, shaking down all human institutions, and rocking the ground on which they rested.

The constituted Assembly was already at work. It undermined with the divine strength of reason, the privileges and the prejudices on which rested the ancient social orders of France. The people—moved like waves which begin to feel the force of the wind—had already attacked Versailles, the Bastile, and the Hôtel de Ville at Paris; but the enthusiasm of the nobility themselves, for the great political and religious regeneration, did not diminish. They felt the first shocks of the earthquake, but thought the danger would be transient. There was no scale in the past upon which they could measure beforehand the height which this deluge of new ideas would attain. My father had not quitted the service upon his marriage. He saw now that he was to follow his colours to defend his king, and to devote himself to a few months of struggle with the disorders of the times. The first flashes of the tempest which was to destroy a throne and disturb the peace of Europe for half a century, were unnoticed by my father and mother in the joy of their union and the perspective of their felicity.

I remember to have once seen a willow branch which had been torn from its trunk by the tempest, floating one morning upon the rising waters of the Saône. A nightingale still sat upon her nest, as it drifted down the foaming river, and her mate followed upon the wing the fate of his love!

From the Literary World.

THE PALACE OF THE PRESIDENT OF FRANCE.

THE election of Louis Napoleon to the French Presidency is, in fact, a Restoration. It is difficult for the French people, even now, to receive the idea of rulers that are not hereditary, or of governments that are not dynasties. The old leaven works in the new lump. In spite of the reiterated "*nous avons changé tout cela*," it is curious to observe to how great an extent the ingrained habits and attributes of royalty characterize the republican *régime*. It is a hard thing to do, this making a new Republic out of an old monarchy. The President has very much the air of a Prince. He is nothing in himself, but everything as the successor and representative of the greatest sovereign France ever had. He has his ministry and his court; a princess presides over his household; his servants assume the Imperial livery; he is lodged at the expense of the nation in the favourite palace of the Emperor!

This palace, known as the "*Palais de l'Elysée Bourbon*," now changed by the *hocus pocus* of revolutionary chances into an executive mansion, conveys, in the very mention of its name, a host of varied associations, and furnishes in its history a picture of political and national vicissitudes not altogether destitute of romance, or devoid of moral.

A year ago it was one of the shows of Paris.—You found in the *rue du Faubourg St. Honoré*, a street of stately and somewhat clumsy grandeur, which is for the grand aristocracy of the present day, what the famous *Faubourg St. Germain* was under Louis XV. and the Restoration. It was built about 130 years ago, in the florid and cumbersome style of architecture in vogue in those days of degeneracy and pretence in Art. Its first possessor of note was Madame de Pompadour, who purchased it of its proprietor, the Count D'Evreux, and lived in it until her death. Its historic souvenirs date from her possession. During her occupancy they are souvenirs belonging to the brilliant follies and luxurious vices of that licentious period, whose excesses laid the foundations of the Revolution, by outraging every propriety of life, and violating every principle of virtue. After her death, it was used as a residence for ambassadors extraordinary, for whose entertainment it was purchased by Louis XV. Subsequently the famous Banker Beaujon bought it. He enlarged, embellished, and improved it, and at his death it fell into the hands of the royal family again, being purchased by the Duchess de Bourbon. She enjoyed its magnificence only for a short time. In 1790 she emigrated, and the palace of the Elysee Bourbon was abandoned to the *sans-culottes*.

The National Assembly undertook to purge it of its hated aristocratic associations by consecrating it to purposes of public necessity. It was turned into the National Printing Office. The frescoes still glowed on the walls, the gold and silver still glittered on the wainscots and the ceiling, but only as vain mementoes of the banished luxury.

The Elysee Bourbon continued for eight years in the hands of the printers. At the end of that time either because it was discovered that a grand palace, built for purposes of private comfort and display, was not the most convenient place for mechanical pursuits, or because there was, as there is always apt to be, a public reäction in favour of the old palace for the sake of its souvenirs of good society, it was rescued from such base uses, and turned into a pleasure garden. The fine old trees, the shrubbery, and the shady walks in the grounds made it a very attractive and popular place, on bright summer days, to the garden-loving Parisians. Idlers lounged in the aristocratic avenues, drank *limonade* and read the papers under the shade, or adjourned into the grand saloons for indoor entertainment.—Poor Madame Pompadour! could her shade have visited the spot, who can imagine the horror with which it would have witnessed these *bourgeois* festivities in the very apartments which had once echoed with the gaiety and glittered with the splendour of the witty and brilliant court of *Louis le bien aimé?*

But a new change was in reserve for the degraded palace. The empire revived the old fashions of the monarchs. Murat bought the Elysee Bourbon with the spoils of war. He abolished its plebeian disfigurations, and restored it to its first magnificence. Dunoy and Vernet painted new frescoes on the walls, and every appliance of luxury was summoned by Murat to decorate his palace. He made it fit for an emperor, and just as Louis XIV. fell in love with Chantilly after the great Condé had repaired and embellished it to the utmost for his own pleasure, Napoleon did with the Elysee Bourbon. He made Murat King of Naples, and took possession of the palace himself. From that time it was his favourite residence. He lived there constantly during the Empire, and, on his return from Elba, his Court during the hundred days was held at the Elysee Bourbon. Here, too, his last night in Paris,—the night after Waterloo,—was spent. The room which he occupied is shown to the visitor; the bed on which he slept, or, more probably, did not sleep, stands where it then stood. It is in a splendid recess, decorated, like the rest of the apartment, with blue and gold. Close beside, with furniture of rare Beauvais tapestry, is the little *salon de travail*, the favourite room of the Emperor. It was in this room that he signed the second and last abdication, just before he crossed the threshold of the Elysee Bourbon for the last time, a fugitive and an exile. The most touching souvenirs of Napoleon linger within its walls.

The Emperor Alexander and the Duke of Wellington were both temporary inmates of the Elysee Bourbon, during the short occupancy of Paris by the allies, the latter just long enough to blend a tinge of Anglican association with the multifarious hues of its historic souvenirs. Such as it is, it is invaluable to Cockney tourists, who are always excessively solicitous on the Continent to lose no traces of the invincible Duke.

When the royalty came back to the Tuilries, the Elysee Bourbon ceased to be a state palace, but reverted to the resigning family. Louis XVIII. gave it to the Duke de Berri, on whose assassination it descended to the Duke de Boudeaux, thus clinging, as it were, to hereditary rights and immunities.

In 1830 it came back to the people, but no one intruded on its silence and desertion except curious travellers, and the household of servants in charge of it. It seemed as if at last there was some rest for the old palace, unless, as it would not be hard to imagine, the phantoms of its former inmates, the dethroned, the usurpers, the exiles, and all, from Madame Pompadour down to the last fugitive scion of the Bourbons, sometimes disturbed its midnight repose, and flitted unquiet, and with revengful greetings, through the long corridors and across the spacious halls.

Whether there be any truth in such fancies or no, the spectres of royalty have probably been fully exorcised since the appropriation of the Palace to its new Republican uses. After so many changes this hardly seems surprising. But it is worthy of note that even now its occupancy seems to be determined on the old principle of legitimacy. To Louis Napoleon it is an ancestral palace. The account of his arrival and reception at its doors, after the solemnities of his inauguration, reminds one in its associations in some degree, of the description given by Macaulay of the return of Charles II. to Whitehall, after eleven years of exile, and of the graceful sentence with which the historian concludes his account—"the great day closed in peace, and the retsored wanderer reposed safe in the palace of his ancestors."

It is thus that the Presidential palace perpetuates the history of the convulsions and changes of French political existence. The mere catalogue of its occupants furnishes a memento of the most instructive and striking eras in the History of France. Madam Pompadour and the era of libertinism—the printers and the era of utility—Murat and the era of heroism (of true heroism, when staff officers could buy palaces and live like princes)—Napoleon and the era of despotism and glory—Alexander and Wellington, and the era of conquest; last of all, Louis Bonaparte and the era of experiment. The Elysee Bourbon will never find a permanent tenant. As things go it would not be hazarding much to predict that before a great many years it may, however, true to its legitimate instincts, come back again to the ownership which the three days of 1830 terminated so abruptly. W. A. B.

From the series of articles now publishing in *Jerrold's* (London) *News* entitled "Experiences of Literature and Literary Men," by an ex-editor, some of which we have already copied, we take the following account of

THE FUNERALS OF PITT AND FOX:

We saw William Pitt interred, being one of three hundred who were admitted into the Abbey by the Dean's tickets. It was a pompous funeral, with much music, and the military formed *en haye* to the Abbey doors, with lines of soldiers in the aisle within side. We were in the edifice three parts of an hour before the procession entered. When the body reached the entrance of the vault and the service was over, we looked down upon the coffins of the great Lord Chatham and his lady with no small emotion. Close to us, silent, and with thoughts perhaps fixed on the son, in place of the father, were the Dukes of York, Cambridge, and Cumberland, in their robes of ceremony, and there were Castlereagh, Hawkesbury, Hood, and others who have followed the deceased of that hour to the narrow house.

It shows how much this minister was disliked by the people, that in the evening of the same day as the funeral it was spoken of with jesting in the coffee-houses, and the crowd, as the procession passed, bandied about their jokes regarding the deceased. The pomp and circumstance were mingled with military array, which it was reported, perhaps untruly, was in part a precaution against any violent demonstration of popular dislike. There was none known, however, unless in the absence of grief from every face, and now and then a smile after the procession passed on; so we were informed. In the Abbey all was solemn pomp around the dust and ashes depositing there. We must not forget to state that we were told that Lord Chatham's coffin, on opening the vault, was found upon its side. This some said was owing to an inundation of the Thames, the mud of which had been found in the vault. Others jestingly said it was the act of the father himself turning his back upon the son.

It was a curious fact, however, that the funeral occurring on the Saturday, upon the following Monday all those debating societies opened which the arbitrary power of the dead minister had closed.—We attended one of these in the Pantheon Theatre, now the Bazaar in Oxford street, and heard Gale Jones and several other orators speak their sentiments. There was nothing violent in what they said, nothing that would not now be styled milk and water as regarded political expression, but the speakers delivered themselves with a fluency and elegance rarely to be expected.

The same year we saw Fox's funeral procession, but not within the Abbey. No military, no music, but the tears—literally the tears of the crowd—were the precious incense that hallowed his bier. It was astonishing how the people loved that man, despite a certain disappointment of public expectation under his ministry. But then he had been minister but a few months, and during that time he was fast breaking under a mortal disease. After all, his principles of justice have triumphed. Time has shown how vain is the combat of temporary policy against the immutability of eternal justice. The same day we attended the debating society, Sir Thomas Picton, Wellington's fighting general and famous only for fighting, even to the limits of ferocity, was tried at the King's Bench, and found guilty of inflicting torture on a free mulatto girl, 14 years of age, in the isle of Trinidad, to make her confess if she knew of a robbery. He signed the order with his own hand. Some years after a friend of ours dining at a house where Picton was on a visit, the subject came upon the tapis, when he declared he could not think how people could call him cruel, as he had only acted in Trinidad as those had done who went before him. This explains the character of the man—brave but wholly unreflecting.

PARIS IN 1789 AND 1790.—I could not more fully describe the society of 1789 and 1790, than by comparing it to the architecture of the time of Louis XII. and of Francis I. when Grecian orders began to be mixed with the Gothic style, or rather, by comparing it to a collection of the ruins and tombs of all ages heaped together pell-mell, after the reign of terror, in the cloisters of the Petits-Augustins; only, the wrecks of which I speak were living and varied without intermission. In every corner of Paris there were literary *reünions*, political societies and theatres; the men of great future renown wandered about in the crowd without being known, like souls on the banks of the crowd without being known, like souls on the banks of Lethe before having enjoyed the light. I have seen Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr play a character at the *Théatre du Marais*, in De Beaumarchais's *Mere Coupable;* and one went from the club of the Feuillons to that of the Jacobins, from balls and gambling-houses to the gatherings of the Palais Royal, from the tribunes of the National Assembly to open-air meetings. Deputations of the people, pickets of cavalry, and patroles of infantry passed and repassed each other in the streets. Close beside a man in a French dress, with powdered hair, a sword at his side, his hat under his arm, pumps and silk stockings, there walked a man with cropped hair without powder, an English frock-coat, and an American cravat. The news was published by the actors at the theatre; and the pit resounded with patrioric songs. Occasionally pieces attracted multitudes; an abbe appeared on the stage, the people shouted at him, "Coxcomb! coxcomb!" and the abbe replied, "Gentlemen, *vive la nation!*" Mandini and his wife, Vignnoni and Rovedino might be heard at the *Opera Buffa*, after having listened to the howling of *ca ira*. One might have gone to admire Madame Dugazon, Madame St. Aubin Caroline, the little Olivier, Mdlle. Contat, Mole, Fleury, and Talma, just then a *debutante*, after having seen Favras hanged.

The promenades on the *Boulevard du Temple* and *des Italiens* surnamed *Coblentz*, were crowded with showy women, among whom three young daughters of Grety were conspicuous, white and red as their attire; the whole three soon died. "She fell asleep for ever," says Grety, speaking of his eldest daughter, "seated upon my knee, and as beautiful as when alive." A multitude of carriages rolled over the crossings or bedaubed the *sans culottes;* and there was to be seen the beautiful Madame de Buffon sitting alone in the Duke of Orleans phaeton at the door of some club. The elegance and taste of the aristocratic society was to be met with at the Hotel de la Rochefoucalt, at the evening parties of Mesdames de Poix, d'Henin, de Simiane, de Vaudrenil, and in some of the drawing-rooms of the high magistracy, still remaining open. At the houses of M. Necker, Le Comte Montmorin, and the various public functionaries, were to be seen (with Madame de Stael, La Duchesse d'Aiguillon, Mesdames de Beaumont and de Serilly) all the new ornaments of France, and all the freedom of the new manners. The shoemaker, in the uniform of the National Guard, on his knees, took the measuse of your foot; the monk, who on Fridays wore his white or black robe, on Sundays wore a round hat, dressed like a citizen; the shaven Capuchin read the newspapers in the wine-shop or tea-garden, and in the midst of a circle of frivolous women there appeared a grave nun; this was some aunt or sister turned out of her convent.

Crowds visited the convents open to everybody, just as travellers in Granada run through the deserted halls of the Alhambra, or as they stop at Tibur, under the columns of the temple of the Sibyl. . . The palace of the Tuileries, a great gaol filled with convicts, rose in the midst of these fetes of destruction. Those, also, sentenced to death enjoyed themselves whilst they were waiting for the *cart*, the *shearing time*, or the *bloody shirt*, which bad been put out to dry, and they could see through the windows of their prison the dazzling illuminations of the queen's circle. Pamphlets and newspapers multiplied by thousands; satires, poems, and the songs of the *Acts of the Apostles* replied to the *Ami du Peuple*, or to the *Moderateur* of the Monarchical Club, edited by Fontanes; Mallet Dupan, in the political articles of the *Mercure*, was in opposition to Labarpe and Chamfort in the literary portion of the same paper. Champoenetz, the Marquis de Bonnay, Rivarol, Mirabeau the younger (the Holbein of the sword, who levied the legion of Hussars *de la Mort* on the Rhine), and Honore Mirabeau the elder, amused themselves, while dining together, by drawing caricatures and getting up the *Petit Almanach des grands hommes;* after which Honore went to propose martial law or the seizure of the possessions of the clergy. He passed the night at the house of Madame Jay, after declaring that he would not quit the National Assembly till driven thence at the boyonet point. *Egalite* consulted the devil in the lists of Montrouge, and returned to the garden at Monceaux to preside at orgies instituted by La Clos. The future regicide was worthy of his race: exhausting his powers by debauchery before giving himself up to ambition. Lauzun, already sated and withered, supped in his little house at the barrier *du Maine* with some opera dancers, whose favours were divided between MM. de Noailles, de Dillon, de Choiseul, de Narbonne, de Talleyrand, and some other exquisites of the day, two or three mummies of whom are still in existence.—*Memoirs of Chateaubriand.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

THE GLOUCESTER JOURNAL says: "It is stated that M. Guizot is in such straitened circumstances that he has accepted a situation connected with a library belonging to the Bedford family."

IT IS said, according to the *Athenæum*, that a lady of the family of a literary French, ex-Minister now in England is translating "Jane Eyre" into French.

SAYS THE GATESHEAD OBSERVER, "The Irish" export their patriots—or, rather the patriots export themselves—and the Americans send back pork.

A PHILOSOPHER'S LAST.—The following conundrum was forwarded to us by Professor Owen, with an earnest request that it might be inserted:—Why is the sea serpent a *rara avis?* Because it's a *sea gull!*—*Liverpool Jones*

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Times* observes that the *New York Herald*, which talks upon the gold of California "soberly, religiously, and quietly," does not seem to contemplate the liquidation of the foreign debts of any of the States among the "wonderful and astounding effects" to be produced.

JENNY LIND QUITTING THE STAGE.—We have the best authority for statting, that Mademoiselle Lind has determined to quit the Stage, and that the manager of her Majesty's Theatre is aware of the decision.—*Norwich Mercury.*

THE venerable Lady Juliana Howard, who had attained the extreme age of ninety-nine years, died, on the 22d instant, at her town residence. The deceased lady was youngest daughter of Henry, fourth Earl of Carlisle, great aunt of the present Earl by his second marriage with Isabella, daughter of the Fourth Lord Byron, and sister of the celebrated Admiral John Byron, father of the poet.—*Morning Post.* [Our cotemporary is in error in representing Admiral Byron as the poet's father.]—*Jerrold's News.*

THE old formula, [says *Jerrold's News*, speaking of the Queen's speech,] has been enacted, and the head of the Government, who has no real power, has repeated the speech, concocted by Lord JOHN RUSSELL, to my Lords and Gentlemen of both House, who were already perfectly well acquainted with it, having heard it publicly read at the Marquis of LANSDOWN's dinner party, and at that of the Premier the day before. This will remind historians of the Merovingian kings and the Byzantine emperors; and although the substitution of mere formula for facts may not betoken the downfall of a country like ours, it does foreshadow the downfall of a system founded on mere pretence.

THE QUEEN'S ENGLISH.—Among the questionable matter of the Queen's speech is its English. "Quærans" writes to the *Times:* "I observe that the Queen's speech begins thus:—'My lords and gentlemen,—The period *being* arrived at which the business of Parliament is usually resumed,' &c. Now, I have always understood the rule laid down by grammarians to be this, that the auxiliary verb 'to be' can only be used with passive verbs and that with verbs active and neuter the auxiliary verb 'to have' must be employed; and in confirmation of this is the want of harmony which strikes the ear on reciting the passage in question." To expose the bad grammar of a royal speech was one of Cobbett's labours of love.—*Ibid*

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